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her into a frog and casting her far away into a marsh. At the same time He said to her, 'O thou wicked woman, I indeed made thee good in the beginning, but thou hast lived an abominably iniquitous life; thou hast not only slain thy father and mother but thy husband besides and several others. I am therefore now turning thee into a frog. Thou shalt henceforth live in marshes and on the edges of lakes and ponds, and thou shalt become a fiend. Thou shalt spawn young frogs and hop about in the slime of the most filthy places. If thou shouldst venture into the dwellings of men, they will without more ado knock thee on the head and throw thy carcase away.' So spake God.

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"This, then," said my chief, "is the true account of the origin of frogs. It is because a woman was the ancestor of these creatures that they have the tattoo marks on their hands. Now, there are some people who, out of sheer pity, say in so many words that frogs are divine; but they are not so in reality. They are demons. Yet as they were once human, and followed the customs of men and women, they still go to the Main Island of Japan every winter to market. When they return they eat, drink and make merry in their dwelling places. This is the noise one hears in the spring time—*Oat, oat, oat*."

In continuing his lecture the old man said, "Frogs are called by three names which are: 'Dwellers among reeds,' 'Dwellers in lakes' and 'Creatures which go on trade visits.' As a whole class they are called 'Hoppers' and 'Hop-and-eaters.' They are given the last name because when they see flies or other insects upon which they feed, they open their mouths, blink their eyes, hop forward and suck in their prey. It is because they go to Japan in the winter that they are named 'Creatures which go on trade visits.' Those we have just heard in the marsh have now returned and are making merry."

117 me to try to shoot it. When travelling among the mountains, I always, at first, carried a big horse-pistol with me in case of meeting with a bear. Penri knew this. Hence his request. Well, I did not in the least expect to hit the bird, but there was a "sporting chance" for me. I fired, and lo, down came Mr. Crow, "dead as a door nail" and shot clean through the body. The old man was delighted. Going on farther we saw another, which he also asked me to kill. But, as I had thus unexpectedly won my laurels, I could not risk losing any *kudos* I had gained, by a miss. So I said, "No. You have seen what you have seen, let it suffice." And so we passed on and the poor bird was let off a scare at least. But, lo! The next morning I found myself with a tremendous reputation. I was a mighty Nimrod who never missed his mark!

352 All the furniture I had in the chief's hut was
744 just one empty whisky (*saké*) barrel which I used
for a seat. I did not empty it, however. That had already been done by Penri and his friends before I appeared upon the scene. As for my bed, it consisted of a few planks placed on an upraised frame and covered with a fine bearskin. For bed curtains I had home-made mats hung up round me. But, alas, my bed-fellows must have been in their millions. On getting up one warm spring morning, I found myself completely covered with red pimples and was afraid, by the feel of it, that I had contracted measles, prickly heat or some kindred complaint. So, singing out for the chief, I showed him my body and asked him what he thought was the matter with me. He comforted me by saying, "It is a mere nothing. Just flea-bites." Thus feeling comforted but not comfortable, I let it go at that, for Penri was a man of experience in such matters and knew. Since that one good inoculation, I have never been troubled over-much by these creatures.

744 A long time after this, when I was talking to
825 another friend about these creatures, he told me they

were not at all bad and we ought to bear with them in 744
patience and not rage about them. "For," said he, 825
"consider their origin. They came down from above
and so are really heavenly insects." "But how so?"
I inquired, and he replied by citing the following story
about their descent to this earth. "In the beginning 539
fleas dwelt upon the body of the god of thunder; and
as the body of this god itched very much one day, he
scratched it and shook himself. Then many fleas
dropped upon this earth, where they now dwell. And
so it always happens that whenever it thunders these
insects hop about much and are very lively."

Think of this, reader! Wonders will never cease! 080
I had got thus far with my writing when I picked up
a Japanese newspaper in which I was informed that
some local authority in the south of Japan would pay
two rin for every flea caught and taken in to the
proper authority. This means, say, one farthing for
five fleas. They should apply to the god of thunder,
surely, and so make certain of a good paying living.

For food, as I had brought nothing with me, the 262
chief's wife fed me on millet (for she had no rice),
potatoes, cabbage stew, beans and what I could procure
with my gun. There was no meat to be had, and the
village had no chickens at all, so that eggs were not
procurable. Now and again I got a piece of salmon,
but this had to be eaten almost in secret, as the people
were not then allowed to catch fish in the river. Once
I got a small bit of dried venison, which was so tough
that I could only make soup of it. But it was very
good. Deer killing had been forbidden, as these animals [224]
were becoming scarce, so that I had to eat it "on the
sly." One day the chief managed to get me a couple
of hen's eggs from somewhere. On handing them to
his wife to cook for me I saw that she wrapped each [252]
up in a big leaf, gave them a sharp tap on one end,
and then put them in the hot ashes on the hearth.
After a time she poked them out with the fire tongs,

262 shelled them and presented them to me nicely baked.
252 And they were very good eating in that land of scarcity. On asking her why she crashed them, she told
me it was to prevent them from bursting.

231 The food question being a somewhat important
177 one, I had a talk with the chief and asked him if we
could not manage to put up a small chicken house and
keep a few hens. He readily agreed to the proposal,
so in a couple of days or so we had a lodge built of
sticks and reeds all ready. We then went down to a
Japanese village at the seashore and bought two birds,
which we put into the little place. All went well for
the first five days and I had an egg daily. But after
that, although the hen cackled every day as usual, we
could find no egg, and I was greatly disappointed. This
went on for several days and I made up my mind to
sit in the shed and so try to solve the problem. As
I sat watching, behold, on the very first morning what
should happen but, as soon as ever the hen began her
[136] song, a big grey snake, some five feet long, thrust his
head in from the outside right over the nest. I
shouted and this made him withdraw his vicious snout
sharply. I got the egg that time. The next morning
I waited very quietly outside at the back and when
the creature wormed his way up among the reeds and
popped his head in, I gave him a whack on his back
and killed him. I won also that time and got my egg.
After that we had no more trouble. That year I killed
no less than thirty-six snakes and vipers. On entering the hut, Penri volunteered the following informa-
[825] tion. "After a snake has swallowed an egg, he, the
demon, glides off to a tree stump, winds himself round
it, gives a tight squeeze and smashes it. They are very
cunning demons."

117 Some little time after slaying my egg thief, I was startled one morning by catching sight of another large snake gliding along the rafters and in and out of the reed thatch inside the hut. Undoubtedly he

117 given his hair a mighty strong tug. I immediately arose from my bed and we proceeded to build a good fire. Here we sat for half an hour or so, arguing with one another. He swore I had pulled his wig and I swore I had not. In the end we decided that Mrs. Rat had come and tried to get a little of his hair to make her nest with. This may have been so, but very likely some of it, for it was very thick and matted, had slipped down between the boards of his bed, where it stuck and held fast when he turned over. I hardly think it was nightmare, though it may have been.

825 The next morning I recurred to the hair-pulling incident and said some hard things about rats, as I had already done about those heavenly creatures, fleas. But here again I was told that it was not right to abuse any of God's creation, and the following story was told me in explanation.

539 "After the Creator had finished making the world, He came down to see how it looked. As He was viewing His work, Satan appeared and derided Him, saying, 'Doubtless You think you have done a very good thing, but look at these brambles and thistles. What can be the use of these?' God was very angry at these remarks and in an instant made a rat. This suddenly rushed into Satan's mouth and bit his tongue out. The devil was so angry at this that he caused the rats to increase so mightily that they soon became a great scourge and plague to men. The Ainu therefore one day met together and called upon God to remedy this. He did so by making cats to keep the rats down." This was the story, and the old man added, "Let us bear with the rats, for one of them did a good thing when he bit out the tongue of Satan. Moreover, do not speak against anything God has created, for see how He punished the evil one for doing so."

342 That year I stayed a little too long at Piratori. It became so cold by December that I asked the chief's

48 you kill such little chickens as that for food?" "Oh, no, Sir," said he. "It died yesterday!"

000 The foregoing little incident reminds me of another one of a somewhat similar nature. I had not been long in Hakodate before I set up housekeeping. My cook, housekeeper and general factotum was a Japanese man aged forty. Although a very good fellow, I found out later that he was very busy "feathering his own nest." One day he came to me and said, "I think, sir, it would be well if you were to have chicken today for dinner." "But why, cook?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "one of the hens is quite sick and cannot live many hours longer. I think it would be best to kill it at once before it is too late. It will make you a fine dinner, Sir." "No, thank you, cook; you may have it." And he really did kill and carry it home, where he cooked it and he and his family ate it up. Well, he is dead now, and I can only say, "Peace be to his hashes!"

136 I know of one district by the sea where the people
262 are very fond of turtle soup. Sometimes when the
fishermen go far out to sea to fish, they bring back a
turtle or two which they catch on the surface of the
water. These they kill and feast on. I am told that
the stews they make of them are fine eating. That
may be so, but having seen and smelt the mixture
once, I could never thereafter bring myself to taste
it. Three years ago one of these creatures found
its way ashore at Usu. The people soon caught it.
It was quite a big one and they were delighted with
their capture. But, instead of killing it, the Japanese
and Ainu combined in giving it a large quantity of
*saké* to drink and then sending it adrift again. The
● [825 Ainu worshipped it and offered it fetish shavings
778] before parting with it. Such a procedure is said to
bring great good fortune.

137 Hokkaidō abounds in fruit of kinds. There are
262 raspberries of several varieties which are very good

773 while the sea-lions were vanquished and were ordered to depart to the sea. These creatures have never been at all satisfied with their lot, so at a certain time every year they come and bellow toward the mountains and challenge the bears to come and do battle."

136 As my friend told me it would be quite safe to row out to the rock and see the creatures, I one day got a man to take me there. The nearer we approached, the more they bellowed. They plunged off the rock into the sea and completely surrounded the boat with their heads toward us. I really thought we should have been attacked and drowned. But my friend handed me ● [825] a good sized stick he had brought along and asked me to strike the edge of the boat continuously with it. With the first noise I made by a blow, they drew off and we were allowed to climb upon their rock and inspect. It was quite smooth and flat and there was nothing on it. As soon as we left, the animals at once returned to it and the bellowing began again all around.

My friend showed himself very friendly while I was with him, and when telling me about the race between bears and sea lions, related other stories, such as the following, all of which have something about bears in them. Said he, "I must now tell you about the marten and the racoon.

773 "The marten and racoon were both made by the Creator to act as servants to bears. This is the reason that those little divinities reside in and about the dens of these deities. Their special duties are to act as cooks and drawers of water. Among them may be seen some with black faces. These are the cooks, and they get black through working among pots and kettles. The common racoon is a very good deity indeed, and when a person intends to offer one in sacrifice, he should send round to his friends and invite them, saying 'The cook of the God of the Mountains is about to be sent away, come ye and rejoice.' Then when all the

133 would be from an ensuing fire. So we sat still till all was over. After this we turned to and chatted about earthquakes and general cosmology. This chapter is in part the result of this conversation.

823 The chief said: "We Ainu people think that the earth is round like a ball, and not flat. It stands floating upon a large expanse of water. There are very many islands standing in this water, each of which is governed by its own gods." There is no single word in the language for the "whole world," but each island and continent is a world in itself and is called a *moshiri*, i.e. "floating earth." "Islets in rivers and lakes and the islands in the sea are all called *Rep-un-shiri*, i.e. 'land in the sea'; and we know the whole world and every world is round because the sun rises every day from the east and sets toward the west, and comes up again from the east on the morrow."

823 825 "The world," continued my friend, and he meant Yezo and Japan, "rests on the back of a very big fish which is called "backbone fish of the world." He is a wondrously large trout-like creature and bears the whole weight of the world upon his back. He is its true foundation. Whenever he moves, the earth trembles, and when he shakes himself severely, there is a big earthquake. And one never can tell when he will become impatient and excited. He has to be very carefully watched. He is also the direct cause of the ebb and flow of the tide. When he inhales, as for breath, the tide ebbs; and when he exhales, it flows toward the shores of the sea. Should he make an extra big exhalation, there is a tidal wave." Respecting this matter the old man gave me the following myth on the ebb and flow of the tides.

823 "Before God made the world there was nothing but swamp to be seen, in which, however, there dwelt a very big trout. This fish was a very mighty one, for his body reached from one end of the swamp to the

father-snake has his dwelling there and reigns as king 773 over all his tribe."

I was very much interested to find that the chief, in 825 common with others, believed that in Hades snakes have human forms. Said he to me, "Snakes live in large communities in the underworld, and there they assume the bodily forms of men and women. They have houses and gardens just as we have, and their food consists largely of dew." Some go further and tell us that in Hades these reptiles keep dogs and go hunting and fishing and live exactly as the Ainu do in this world. But their resemblance to men and women is quite superficial and extends only to the outward form. Their inward nature is decidedly diabolical. They only assume the form of snakes when they come to the upper world, and they never appear here except with the intention of doing harm to human beings.

"As his origin is divine, the snake is of a very haughty disposition. Inasmuch as he is a very quarrelsome being, he is never mentioned by name, but called by an alias. From the very beginning the snake was desirous of doing evil; nevertheless, if fetishes are made of walnut wood and presented to him with the words, "Thou art a good God," he will be much pleased and render help. Again, if snakes are treated in a slighting manner they cause sickness. Yet, if they cause illness it may be cured by making fetishes of the walnut tree and offering these to them with worship.

"In olden times a certain man, in order to get some 539 firewood, chopped at a tree. And, as it happened, that tree had a hole in it. But he did not know there was an honourable snake inside, so he chopped away, cut the snake in two from the middle and killed it. Taking no more notice of it, he returned home. Afterwards the man became very ill and his eyes smarted; moreover, his body ached and with pain his skin peeled off [753] him. So the men met together and made many

539 fetishes and offered apologies; nevertheless, the man got no better at all. Later on the sick man had the following dream.

"In his dream a snake was seen, which said, 'O man! listen well to me. When you were getting firewood, you cut and killed a snake, and I am his brother. We are angry for our brother, and so have sent you this illness. And, although you have made fetishes and prayed, you have not recovered your health. For what we desire to have offered us are fetishes made from walnut wood; therefore make some of this tree and offer them to us; if you do so, we will make you well.' So spake he. After that the man woke up and told others about his dream. And so the men made fetishes out of walnut, and, offering them to the snake, made prayers. And then the man got well. This is how it came to be known to the Ainu that snakes like walnut fetishes. The reason why these creatures are called 'grass root' is because they move about among the roots of grass." Snakes are called "rope" by some.

● 825 "When the summertime has come and while it is very hot, the skins of the snakes peel off, and then the people say, 'Inasmuch as it is now very hot, the divine snakes have taken off their clothes; their skins have peeled off.' So they say.

[757] "Should there be a wart upon the foot or hand of anyone, if he will take the skin of a snake and rub the place with it, a cure is certain to follow. Or, should the insteps or back of the hands crack, then, if the skin of a snake be burnt to powder and rubbed into the places, they will be healed immediately.

"Snake skin is a woman's charm. Sometimes snakes come to the granaries and stay in them for a long time and leave their skins among the grain. When a skin is found there, it is treated with great care and respect. The men seeing it say, 'From now on, the year will be fruitful and this granary will be

filled. It seems as if there will be a fulness of grain, 825
for the divine snake's beautiful garments are here.'
Then, taking the skin, they make walnut fetishes for it and put it away as a charm. This is the woman's personal talisman and is therefore placed in the granary.

"But the snake is not a very good deity. Its purpose in getting among the grain in the granary is not a good one. It goes for evil purposes. But the true reason for esteeming it and making a charm of it is to deceive it by flattery and so misdirect its mind and purpose. Once more. As regards snakes, when the people burn off the scrub and weeds from their land in order to make their garden plots, although snakes then sometimes get burnt up and so die, they may not get angry." Such is part of the Ainu lore, respecting snakes, and a wonderfully curious piece of lore it is.

In the chapter on Ainu women and tattoo I mentioned 000
a legend dealing with the marks found on the forefeet of frogs, which the Ainu take as a remnant of tattoo, left by a woman who was transformed into a frog by a curse for evil done. In Ainu religious thought there is always a strong flavour of dualism [812]
present, and the following legend shows one phase of this doctrine. It runs thus:

"As snakes have never been liked, the ancient Ainu 539
once met together and asked God to take them away. He heard their prayer and determined to get rid of them by starving them out. But when they were about to leave Ainu-land in search of food, a frog stepped forth and told them that if they would held its legs in their mouths they would not starve. One snake tried the remedy, and found the leg so nice that it gradually swallowed the whole body. From that time to this, frogs have been food for these reptiles. It was the evil one in the frog who thus frustrated the good purposes of the gods."

761 right before her very eyes and all were talking about the funeral! They were embroidering gloves for her hands in patterns of white, and also socks, a head-dress and an outer garment. They chatted in quite a lively way, the dying lady herself joining in. I told her that she ought to be quiet and asked her if she really wanted to die. "Oh, no. I want to live," she said.

I treated her in my own fashion for twenty minutes, by which time all of what she designated as "spear-thrust-picking-pains," which came every time she breathed, had gone quite away, and her pulse had returned to normal. She declared that she felt quite cured. I gave her some gruel made very thin and packed off the women to their homes, telling them to retain their death wailings for another occasion. They went out giggling like a pack of hysterical school girls. The lady lived for ten years after this and kept well. I verily believe that apart from the illness, those terrible suggestions of death which the making of the clothing produced, would have killed her if I had not appeared on the scenes. However that may be, the point I desire to make is that this woman did not fear death in the least. And I know there are others like her in this.

117 As I was one day passing through the village of Piratori Panata, I heard a great wailing for the dead going on in the hut of an old friend named Kanturuka. He was a good old fellow of about eighty, and he had given me quite a big lot of old folk-lore and told me many stories. He was not much liked by some of the villagers, and was nicknamed the "divine hare." The [825 776] hare, I found, was looked upon as the very lowest of the animal divinities and the name was given to my friend because he was not regarded very highly by his neighbours. However, I liked him very well and we had many happy times together.

761 I walked in to see who had died and found that it was Kanturuka himself. He had fallen down in a fit,

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loose in the hut, playing daily with the children. It 231 was so small that the wife had to bring it up like one of her own babies. At night it went and curled itself up in the bosom of the master. Being a stranger, it did not at first care to come near me, but with a little coaxing, he and I soon became the best of friends. I watched him carefully and a more cunning little beast I think I have never seen.

One day as I was sitting quietly writing at the head of the hearth, I saw little Bruin come stealthily into the hut, walk quietly up to a pot which was hanging at the lower end of the fireplace with cold cooked millet in it, stand up on his hind legs, place one forepaw on the edge of the pot to keep it steady, lift the lid partly off with the other and put it on one side, and then scoop handfuls out and eat as fast as he could. I gazed at him for a few minutes with admiration and astonishment. Presently I roared out, "Oh, you thieving scoundrel!" The rogue immediately dropped to his feet, gave one swift glance at me, smirked, and rushed out of the hut as much like a streak of lightning as it is possible for a bear to be. I was intensely amused and I sat still for a time to see what would happen next.

In about half an hour I saw the creature place one forepaw on the door post, slowly lift up the mat hanging in the doorway with the other, and then pop his head round the corner, look at me, twinkle his eyes, slap the mat down in its place, and forthwith rush off again post-haste. He evidently thought there was not enough room in that hut for the two of us. He got no more to eat till supper time. When the mistress came home from her garden, I told her about it, but 825 she did not seem to be at all surprised, for she simply smiled and said, "The young scamp! At it again!" The husband laughed when he heard of it, nodded at the tale, and said, "The little demon! All bear cubs are very cunning and their parents exceedingly wise and clever."

earnest. His soul was stirred within him, and he was nothing if not sincere. 797

*Self.* "Well, Heaven is a state of bliss and perfect peace. You may depend upon that. All will be happy there to the utmost of their ever-increasing capacity. All things necessary to our perfect happiness will doubtless be found there. Why trouble? If for your perfect joy the Supreme Ruler considers it necessary that your beloved dogs should be there, there you will find them awaiting you. So do not worry about that."

*Tee.* "Thank you. That is so. I am content."

Much followed on the heels of this which was all of a most interesting and instructive nature. I regard myself as highly fortunate to have spent my life among such men. It has been a grand experience. But I can not help smiling every time I imagine poor Tee hoping to find his much-loved dogs standing at the gate of Heaven wagging their tails in welcome when he got there, and seeming to say, "Hail, Master. Here we are. May we have happy, successful hunting!" Tee has now gone from us and knows more about these things than the living can as yet hope to know. *Requiescat in pace.*

It does one good to talk with a man like Tee, and it inevitably drives one to think of the old knotty Western philosophical problem: "Whence? Why? and Whither?"

Tee belonged to the bear clan, while Mr. Ari be- 614
lieved himself to be remotely descended from an eagle, 774
and in that way, as he said, belonged to the eagle clan. 825

I found that if any Ainu could but secure an eaglet they were most happy. They would put it in a big cage, where they would worship it often till it was full-grown, and at last hold a "sending away" festival for it. By some this bird was looked upon as their tutelary deity and regarded as a sort of totem. Mr. Ari was a man of this class.

825 The prayer said at the time of the "sending away festival" for the eaglet runs thus:

"O divine beloved one, I have brought thee up till
782 now because I loved thee; and now I send thee to thy father. I also present thee with food, fetishes, whisky and cakes. If thou wilt take them to thy father, he will greatly rejoice. And do thou speak to him on this wise, I ask thee: 'I have dwelt for a long time in Ainu-land; there an Ainu father and mother brought me up. And now I come to thee. Moreover, listen. I have brought thee a great variety of good things. Now, I saw in Ainu-land many kinds of trouble. They were such as these. Some were possessed by devils; some met with accidents from wild animals; some also met with landslides; some met with accidents from the waves of the sea; and I saw many kinds of sickness. Ainu-land is in a very difficult and parlous condition. Hear, my father, and hasten to turn toward that land and send help.' If you speak thus before your father and mother, he will succour."

825 This man was 17 years of age when I first met him. When I was in his district, his house being near he used to come to me of an evening to be taught. One evening he told me that it was very difficult for him to believe that all men are descended from the same original ancestors. His own family relations, he said, considered themselves to have come from eagles in the beginning. What did I think of it? So we sat down and talked the matter over.

*Ari.* My people were of the eagle clan and I have been told that my real ancestor was descended from an eagle.

*Self.* Oh, indeed, that is very interesting. Tell me all about it, please, and let us talk the matter well over.

I then said: "Do you mean to say that you think an eagle laid some eggs and then sat on them and hatched out your original ancestors?

*Ari.* That I cannot tell. 825

*Self.* If not, did an eagle find human babies somewhere, seize them with his talons and carry them off and rear them as his own?

*Ari.* I do not know. My people have not told me.

*Self.* Well, I do not see anything resembling an eagle about you. What is that on your face, a beak?

"No. It is a nose." "What is that on your head; feathers?" "No; hair." "So it is! So you have no feathers, and your voice is certainly not at all like the screech of an eagle; it is more like the growl of a bear sometimes. And I don't for a moment suppose you have ever heard of your ancestors having laid eggs, have you?" He said he had not, nor had he seen people half bird and half man. Evolution in this sense was not known to him. The end of it all was that he concluded that the Ainu, in so far as the present race is concerned, belonged to the genus homo. Mr. Ari went away quite happy and some time later became a Christian.

A few years after this, Mr. Ari came and asked me 584 to find him a wife, as he wished to make himself a home, and, he said, there were no young girls in his hamlet from whom he might choose. After a good deal of looking round, I managed to find a pure Japanese young lady who had been adopted by an Ainu woman in infancy and brought up as her own child, [304 excepting that her foster parents did not tattoo her. 597] It has been a very happy union and today they have a family of 11 children, one having died in infancy. The eldest daughter is at present with us doing cooking, and the eldest son is a veterinary surgeon. Another son is in the army, and another daughter is a dressmaker.

The Ainu have a good deal to say about eagles at 825 times, and the following legend is thoroughly characteristic and contains a very mine of old world lore.

115 that they had been taken by himself and were very precious talismans. He also gave me the following story.

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825 "The white-tailed eagle was sent down from heaven. It is a bird of very quick hearing powers and makes no mistakes. And so when any hunter goes into the mountains and happens upon such small animals as foxes and hares, and at the same time observes one of these eagles hovering near, he should quickly say, 'Make haste, O divine eagle, and kill this animal for me.' It will then at once descend and strike the creature with its breast and kill it. Thus it comes to be known that this bird has good hearing powers. It is for this reason that fetishes are presented to it when it is killed. Then, if the skin and body are placed in the garden plots, hares will not dare to come and spoil the produce. Once more; the claws of this eagle are to be carefully put away. And the way they are used
755 is this. If a snake should bite one's heel and cause
758 pain, the claws of this bird should be bound over the wound and the following prayer be said:

[788] "'The divine White-tailed Eagle has come to help; O snake, hasten to heal this man.' So should the man say."

The eagle spoken of in the first legend is the *Aquila clagna, Poll.*, but the white-tailed eagle here spoken of is the *Halioetus albicilla, Linn.* The use of the claws as a cure for snake bite is very curious and it was a long time before I could make out the reason for the custom. At last I was told that, according to Ainu ideas, eagles are the enemies of snakes and catch and eat them. The claws are therefore placed over wounds given by these reptiles as a threat to the one who did the biting. This is said to frighten the snake into removing his poison! In the prayer he is informed by the sufferer

593 approach the gods when their help is required. The
551 wives should therefore treat them with great respect,
and should hold them in high esteem. They may not
heedlessly mention their names, for they are in truth
their strong superiors and supports. They stand be-
tween them and the gods. This teaching came down
from the divine Aeoina and is strictly to be obeyed. If,
therefore, any woman dishonours her husband by men-
tioning his name, let her know that it is not only dis-
respectful to him, but a great dishonour to the gods
also. It is blasphemy. Let all take heed to this com-
mand." But I would ask the reader to remember that
I am writing of matters as I found them many years
ago. The difficulties heretofore mentioned have now
almost passed away, and most of the children receive
[177] Japanese names. All have surnames, which has sim-
plified matters considerably.

551 It was but yesterday that I heard our Ainu maid
servant call herself "otter head." It was because she
had forgotten something we asked her to do. The
name carried me back in thought some 40 years to the
time I first heard it and was told the allusion. I
thought the designation was defunct, but, behold, there
it was as full of life and meaning as ever. The otter
is supposed to have an exceedingly bad memory, and
1 part of the lore concerning this runs as follows:

539 "The river otter was sent down by the Creator to
825 make clothing for the foxes. He was told that it was
to be red. But he had such a bad memory that he quite
forgot what colour it should have been and so painted
them white! Hence foxes were, when first seen by the
Ainu, all white and not red, as most of them now are.
Mr. Fox was exceedingly angry at this piece of care-
lessness and severely scolded the otter for his neglect
of duty. White was too imposing a colour to suit his
taste. In order, therefore, to remedy the mistake, Mr.
Otter went to a stream, and, after catching a salmon,
took out its roe. He then asked Mr. Reynard to lie

down. After mashing the fish roe into a liquid, he, Mr. 539 Otter, proceeded to rub it into the fox's fur. In this 825 way he turned it from white to red. And so it comes to pass that foxes are now red and not white as formerly. Mr. Fox was highly delighted with the change and, in order to return the compliment, procured some phillodendron bark, boiled it and then dyed Mr. Otter's fur with the liquor, making it the beautiful dark brown color we now find it to be."

On asking my friend why the Ainu regarded the river otter as more forgetful than other animals, he gave me the following piece of lore.

"The river otter is a most curious and wasteful creature. He can remember nothing at all. As soon as he has caught a salmon he carries it ashore, takes just one mouthful out of the back near its head, and then straightway leaves the remainder. It is left to rot on the river bank. No sooner has he swallowed the titbit bitten out of its back than he forgets all about it, throws the carcass away and sets off to catch another fish. He very seldom stays to finish off what he has caught. He can't help it, but he immediately forgets his kill. This is the reason why any person with a bad memory is called 'Otter-Head.' "

I believe the worst names one Japanese can call 551 another by are "fool" and "beast." "Liar" does not seem to count with them as it does with English speaking peoples. In Ainu, the worst names one can give another are "misser of the mark" (fool) and "corpse." There are, of course, several lighter names sometimes given, which are very amusing and are bestowed by way of fun, conveying a modicum of censure in them. It is of some of these I desire to write now.

"Otter-head" has already been touched upon. But as there were one or two other points connected with this name which were not mentioned there, I think it will be well to finish with them first.

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During my sojourn in this land I have witnessed many peculiar customs, but among them all I think the one I saw at a festive scene was the most comical, peculiar and ridiculous. As I was passing by a certain hut one day, I heard a very merry chattering, accompanied with much loud laughter, going on inside. This greatly puzzled me, for I had not heard the like before. As it was the home of an old friend, I took the liberty of slipping quietly through the door, without giving the customary coughs before entering.

There sat the family with a few friends round the hearth, partaking of stewed meat, vegetables and millet. They were taking it directly out of the pot which was hanging over the fire, and so they got it hot. They were much astonished at my sudden appearing, and all turned to stare at me. They stopped their eating and for a second or two seemed to hold their breath, and then suddenly burst out into roars of laughter, their merry eyes sparkling with delight. They made room for me and invited me to join them. But it was all so funny and I so ignorant as to what was in the pot that I declined with thanks.

I was greatly surprised to see the people, big and little, each with his or her personal belongings tied up in bundles as if in readiness to migrate to some other land, and it reminded me of the exodus of Israel from Egypt. Some of them actually had bundles slung on to their backs with the tying cord round their foreheads. Beside others were clothing, ornaments, spoons, moustache-lifters, pots, kettles, axes, bows and arrows, knives and other articles, all ready at hand. When the Ainu men are greatly surprised they sometimes say, "*Etukishma*"! This means: "I seize my nose!" All I could do was simply to say "*Etukishma*" and laugh with them. I did not know what to make of it all, for it was such a peculiar scene. Nor have I seen it since. I was indeed fortunate to have caught them in the act at that time. I did not think it would be wise to pass remarks them or ask any questions, so 825 I carefully took stock and bided the time when a more 527 appropriate occasion should present itself. When I did at last make inquiries, I picked up a good deal of curious information, besides that which may be found mentioned in the last chapter.

"The Ainu believe that otters, like other animals, have power to possess people. Should they do so, loss of memory is the sure result. And so a very forgetful person is said to be "possessed by an otter." When the people find any fish which have been killed by otters, they carry them home and use them for food. But when they eat such fish, or partake of otter flesh, special prayers must be said to the Goddess of Fire, asking her to protect them from the machinations of evilly disposed otters. While eating them, all must carefully tie a carrying cord round their heads. This is to prevent the spirit of the otter from entering the brain, which is the seat of the memory. Should a person neglect to wear one of these cords while eating of these creatures, he will be possessed by one, so that the next time he goes to the garden to work or mountains to hunt, he is bound to forget his knife, axe, hoe or some other tool." Such was the story told me. It was this feast I happened upon at the time I am writing of. And I am very glad to have witnessed it.

A man told me to be extremely careful always 753 about eating the head of an otter, for in partaking of such any person renders himself specially liable to the otter's curse and if it falls on one, complete loss of memory is the result. The following is the legend he told me about it.

"The otter's head must not be lightly used as food, 262 for if people are not careful they will, if they eat of it, become as forgetful as that animal. Hence it happens that when an otter has been killed, the people do not usually eat the head. But if they should be seized with a strong desire to partake thereof at a feast, they the demon of disease, and that he was giving instructions to his servants." 539

The son of an Ainu fisherman once told me that the 825 ● albatross is looked upon as a servant of the chief god [776] of the sea, and it is said that, if the fishermen are favoured with the presence of some of these birds when at their calling, they are sure to be successful. And so it came to pass that one of the names given them is *isko-kapiu*, i.e. "sport-bringing sea-gull." Like many other deities, the albatross also is supposed to go to other superior gods with prayers and intercessions for and from men, and he is splendid in fighting against the demons of disease on behalf of men and women.

One may well wonder why the shaman above spoken of carried the head of one of these birds[12] about with him. It was for the purpose of exorcism. Had he thought well to do so, he might have made a strong decoction out of scraped albatross skull and bill scrapings, and given her enough to produce vomiting. In this way would the demon of sickness have been cast out of both her and the man who was ill. Then, after having paid the proper fine to the shaman, all would have been peace and health again (a good deal, of course, depending on the fee given).

But according to the Ainu, it is not only certain 757 bad smells the demons are afraid of; they also dislike 753 anything of a nauseous flavour. They will flee before such, post-haste. At one time and another we have had hundreds of sick Ainu staying with us. These I always sent to the city doctors for diagnosis and medical treatment. One day one of the men told me that he wished to change his doctor, for his medicines were of no use. Said he: "I drank a whole bottle full, a three days' allowance at once this morning, and, instead of feeling better for it, I am much worse! I thought that if I took three days' allowance at one go, I should have three days' betterment in one day. But

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out to sea. Those represented by the images were then 788
to die from hunger, thirst or drowning. I wanted to 754
take these things, but the chief would not allow me to touch them, for he was afraid the curse intended for others might fall on me if I did so! And to take them would be a sort of sacrilege on my part. I was really in the midst of a great whirl of superstition among these people, and I found it always necessary to walk warily.

It is very strange that, although snakes are very 825
much feared by this people, both men and women wor- 778
ship them on occasion. Not only are they made [787]
objects of divine worship, but they are also used in divination. And although they are said to have a special spite against women, and are ever seeking to possess them and drive them mad, yet there are some women who actually keep snake skins as special charms and fortune-bringing agents. I well knew one woman, and she was a very much feared shaman, who kept the image of one of these reptiles in a box to use in divination.

The men, I found, were much averse to killing snakes 825
themselves, because they thought that by so doing, evil [784]
spirits, which they supposed to dwell in them, would, upon leaving their old homes in the reptiles, forthwith enter the heart of the slayer and work diabolical spells there. No doubt this was the reason Mr. Bright sent for me to go and kill the demon-snake which had got into his granary, an account of which has already been given. These folk seemed to imagine that I was beyond being harmed by the devils! And this I took as a great compliment and killed many of these creatures for them. Should one be seen to cross the path of a woman, then, indeed, the men would try to kill it, for, [845]
said they, snake possession was the chief cause of all troubles connected with childbirth, and the only certain antidote was to slay the creature, for it was undoubtedly seeking to possess the woman. It was also

825 said that "if a snake should find anyone asleep out in the open, it would enter the sleeper's mouth and take up his abode within him and drive him out of his mind."

825 755 783 I have never yet been able to find out what snakes have to do with ague. Many years ago, however, I came across a case where the worship of a snake and its effigy was performed over a person for her cure. In this instance the patient was a woman and she was suffering badly. Her husband quietly went out one morning and made the form of a snake out of grass, and, after having done worship to it and the great father of snakes, stealthily slipped into the hut again, and then suddenly approached his wife and popped the creature into her bosom! This treatment caused the poor woman to scream with fright and straightway go off into hysterics. She was then marched off out of the hut, well sprinkled with fresh water, rubbed down with the effigy, and then beaten ceremoniously with a big bunch of artemisia. All this was by way of exorcism and purification.

754 But snakes are not only worshipped that good may come, but evil also. They are sometimes asked, even at the present day, to bite one's enemies. Thus a man once said to me. "When a person of a vindictive disposition has been harmed by an enemy, he will walk about till he comes across a snake or viper curled up by the side of a path. When he finds one he will stop before it and pray thus: 'O snake, I have a word to say to you; pray listen to me. I have an enemy named so-and-so. Take note of the name. Should you see him coming along this path, bite him, poison him, kill him. If you will do so, I will make fetishes of walnut wood for you and offer you many libations of *saké*.' Having said this, the worshipper salutes and then walks on. The snake will be mightily pleased with this and long for the fetishes and *saké*. And, should he see the person mentioned coming along that way, he will with-

but if the patient died, the image was left severely alone or cast away without ceremony 754 toward the west, which according to Ainu ideas is the 823 abode of darkness and the region whence all troubles come.

I asked my friend how it happened that the Ainu 825 called snakes divine, when they acknowledged them to be demons. "Ah," he said, "we only pretend to worship them. We only flatter them and make them imagine we look upon them as gods." These are his words: "Snakes are very quick-tempered, but are easily deceived by adulation. And so it happens that when a child is born, the image of one of those reptiles is made and worshipped by way of flattery. It is not really worshipped, it is all a make-believe. And, should a woman be possessed by a demon snake, she becomes a hardened witch doctor and very dangerous. She will also make images of snakes to worship."

Further; "As regards these creatures:—should a woman see a snake swallowing anything, it means snake possession for her. In such a case the creature must be certainly killed and a stick stuck through its head." One may often come across snake skins in the early summer, left where they have been shed. It is regarded as unlucky to see these, for they bring curses. [777] Should a person see one, he must expectorate and say, "The coward was running away." But if one sees the skeleton of one lying curled up, he must say, "What a brave one! He was not afraid to die by fire."

# CHAPTER XXXVII

## THE PINE-MARTEN, ADONIS, AND SKYLARK

Among the wild flowers of Hokkaidō, the Adonis 137
is regarded by the Ainu as one of the prettiest, if not 824
indeed the prettiest of all. According to them, its beauty is accounted for by the fact that it is supposed to have once been a goddess—the daughter of one of the deities who are said to have the rule in the skies next to this earth. The pine-marten also, which is [136
a very important little animal, is thought to have had 825]
his origin in Heaven.

The adonis is, without doubt, a very beautiful flower. It is of a bright yellow colour and blooms before the green leaf appears. It is a real harbinger of spring, joy, and warm weather. It is the very first flower to blossom here in Hokkaidō, and may sometimes be seen in secluded spots, where it is sheltered from the wind, even before the snow is all melted. I have sometimes dug it up as early as the end of February, while in March it is very abundant. It is this, perhaps, which causes the people to love it so much. Indeed, they regard it with quite as much affection as the children of England do the snowdrop.

The legend regarding the first appearance of this 539
flower in Ainu-land is well worthy of consideration, 824
for it is both pretty and instructive in its teaching. 825

"The divine pine-marten is a god who in the beginning had his home in Heaven. But he came down from above and took up his abode among the Ainu. Here he stands very high indeed among the deities

539 of the earth, and the people should treat him with
824 great reverence. Now, from very ancient times there
825 has never been another lady so beautiful in every respect as the daughter of the god who lives in the Lower Heavens. This deity one day called his daughter to him and said, 'There is no god upon the earth higher and more honourable in rank than the pine-marten. You, my daughter, must wed no other than him.' The goddess said she would obey her father, and so it was settled.

"The pine-marten, having then been notified of the arrangement, went up to Heaven to receive his bride. Upon his arrival, the young lady set to work diligently to prepare her trousseau, and when the day arrived for the marriage to be celebrated, set the houses in proper order. After all had been properly prepared and the preliminary ceremony performed, while the wedding feast was well in progress, the young goddess quietly left the house, as if to fetch something she had forgotten. But she did not return.

"After a time, the pine-marten went to look for her. He searched Heaven and earth and the sea, but it was all of no avail. By and by, he heard it rumoured that she was hiding among the grass upon the earth, and, after a further search, found her. He was very angry when he saw her, and trampling upon her with his feet in a great rage, said, 'Oh thou wretched creature, why didst thou slip away and hide thyself among the grass? As thou hast thus disobeyed thy father and run away from thy home, I will punish thee most severely. Thou mayest no more go to thy Heavenly dwelling but must live in this world only henceforth. Thou shalt now be turned into a plant.' Having thus crushed her under foot with all his might, she was changed into a flower and she was called Adonis (Kunau).

"It is because this plant had such a high origin, 539
having been once a goddess, that the adonis is such a 824
beautiful plant, the most handsome flower in exis- 825
tence. In the beginning it truly lived in Heaven and was a goddess of great beauty. Though she was formerly lovely in every way, being a deity, yet because she fell from her high estate by disobeying the wishes of her father, she became a plant of the field. Thus was she punished.

"As, then, the pine-marten is known to be such a 825
grand and noble deity, his skull must be nicely wrapped up in willow shaving when he is killed, and carefully and reverently kept as a charm. When he is freshly killed, the men must take his head and worship before it, saying, 'O thou divine pine-marten, we know that thou art a great lord; henceforth kindly bless us; keep us, and be thou our god.' If one does this in a reverential manner, this divine animal will indeed bless him and make him prosper greatly."

The great danger of disobeying one's parents or the 539
gods is also made manifest in the legend of the skylark. 825

"In the beginning the skylark had his home in the heavens above. One day the God of heaven sent one of these little creatures down to the deities of the earth with a message, telling him to return that same day and not loiter about. But this little fellow found Ainu-land such a very nice place that he stayed and amused himself there till it became nearly dark, so that it was too late to go back that night. The next day, thinking to ascend to Heaven, he got up and flew above the earth. When he had ascended 240 feet above the ground, the true God met him and said,

"'Why was it that when I sent thee with a message and told thee to return the same day, thou didst disobey me and stay away? As thou hast done this and failed to do as I told thee, thou shalt not come up to Heaven, but must return to Ainu-land and remain

539 there. Shouldst thou rise above the earth with the
825 intention of entering Heaven again, thou wilt find that thou will not be able to go up more than from 120 to 240 feet from the ground.' So spake the God.

"The skylark was very angry and commenced to argue and storm, saying,

"'O thou true God, it was because Thou didst make the world so beautiful that I stayed a little too long looking at it, and dost Thou punish me for that? Even so, I will return to my home in Heaven.' So saying, he argued much and long. But God would not assent. Therefore when these little birds fly daily up toward Heaven in anger, they can not go higher than 240 feet at the most. So they stay there and storm. Yet God will not allow them to enter. So they return to the earth, making a great noise. Again and again they ascend and storm away at God, but He will not allow them to go nearer. Even at the present time, when the summer comes round, they often go up to the limit of 240 feet and abide there a very long time storming. Then they return to earth and amuse themselves. It is on account of their storming so much that skylarks are called 'arguing birds,' or 'answering back birds.'"*

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*Here is an amusing cutting I one day took out of the "Japan Advertiser," and which I think well worth quoting at this place.

A little daughter of the slums, on her first day in the country, saw a lark motionless, high in air, pouring forth its lovely music. She listened a moment, then she ran to the matron.

"Oh, Miss May," she said, "there's a sparrow up there, and he can't git up and he can't git down, and he aint doin' nothing but holler about it."

278 supposed to be the origin of the malady. For cuts, the
755 people chewed leaves and tied them over the wound.
164 Some would scrape deer's horn or the bristles of
252 whales, if procurable, into fine powder and put that upon the place. In cases where persons had been scratched or partly scalped by bears, the wound was first washed with fresh cold water, then the scalp was put as nearly as possible into its proper place and kept there by sewing with hair or very fine nettle fibre. The only man I ever met who had been thus treated had his scalp sewn on crookedly and his ear was all awry, and this gave him a very comical appearance. Powdered deer's horn or whale's bristles was put along the seams. If a person was accidentally shot by a poisoned arrow, the spot touched by the poison was either sucked or cut out, then washed, and horn powder put on the wound. Broken legs and arms were set as well as possible and bound up in rough splints.

825 One day, as we were passing along by the seashore,
753 a great number of small birds arose out of the grass close to us. The man who was with me told me that these were called *pa-koro-chikap-po,* and this means 'little bird demons of disease.' The following is what he said about them.

"During the early spring, little birds with grey coloured feathers and a patch of red on the tops of their heads come and settle near the seashore. If a person should kill one of them, many evil diseases would at once attack the villages round about, so one ought not even to pretend to cast a stick or stone at them, call them names, or even say so much as one word to them. He should turn his face away and pretend not to see them."

755 When a person first becomes ill, friends generally
757 make him lie by the fireside upon his mattress, for *Huchi,* the goddess of fire, is said to have a special care for such. The people also have cords suspended from

539 But one day the birds came and told me that a gentleman was coming from afar to pay me a visit.[*]

"In two days' time I heard the creaking of boat oars off the coast, and very soon recognized a sound of footsteps on the path, as of a man approaching. Almost immediately a gentleman clothed in a beautiful black robe came in and sat down close beside me. Upon seeing him I felt happy indeed! I thought immediately in my heart, 'I will marry this man. I will make him keep me.' So thought I. That selfsame day we were married, he and I. After that I lived in plenty as I had done before.

"When two years had elapsed, we found ourselves so pleased with one another that we decided to let the marriage stand for good.[**]

"We were both very powerful in magic and so had no children.[†]

"We grew to be very old and died without issue. Our two bodies died, but there was no burial. There is no trace of us in the underworld. We vanished quite away and there are no men and women to be found where we are gone. The true gods have sent us away.[††]

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[825] [*] The man who placed the fur over his head was a metamorphosed bear. He was killed in combat with the trout, but now assumes the form of a man again and is about to marry the woman.

[583] [**] It was customary among this people to have a preliminary or temporary marriage, to see how the couple got on together, and then, if all was well, have a proper ceremonial marriage later, or, if not, to separate.

[942] [†] It is said by the Ainu folk that people who were famous for their occult and magical powers seldom had any offspring.

[††] This means to say that the kingdom to which they went was the kingdom of the bears among the mountains.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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117 One morning we found the cupboard was as bare as that of the famous Mother Hubbard. In alarm, my friend asked what we were going to do about breakfast and dinner. "Ah," I returned, "that's the question. What shall we do? There is a little rice, but plenty of millet and vegetables to be got." The gentleman was not too well pleased. So I went into my room and fished my gun out from among my clothes, where I had hidden it, and passed out before him. He was, in fact, busy writing at a table. "Surely," thought I, "I have you on toast this time."

Within forty yards of our rooms, a quail got up at my feet. He rose with a startling whirl from under my very nose. "Bang"! went my gun and I forthwith picked up my breakfast. I had no sooner secured my bird than I heard a loud voice coming from the window, "There goes another! Look! Quick!" The poor man saw his breakfast flying away and was evidently afraid of losing it! "Bang"! sounded my gun again and down came my friend's breakfast also. And he was very much pleased. Out he rushed and said, "Ah, I think it is all right to shoot for food, but I do not like shooting for mere sport." "Come along," said I, "let us go and pick up a few dinners if we can." Away we went and returned with a bag of seven or eight fine, fat tree-grouse and a few quails. These lasted us for some time, and when they were eaten up we went and got more, and a few duck as well. So my companion saw that whether clergy or laymen, "a man's a man for a' that," and must be fed.

● [825] It is supposed among ourselves that the fox is the most wily animal of the forests, but the Ainu say "No, not so. The bear is the most artful of all." That may be true, but I think all animals have their little tricks, which they play when hard pressed. One day an Ainu friend and I went out to try and shoot something to eat, for I was very tired of nothing but millet and

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vegetables. As we were going along, we chanced to hit 117 upon the tracks a fox had made in the snow, and I asked my friend whether we should go and see if we could get its skin. "No," he said very emphatically, [224 "not if you wish to shoot a hare or some ducks." "But 825] why?" I asked. "What has that got to do with it?" Then he said, "if you kill a fox the first thing, you will be certain not to get any good game today." "I don't see why," I replied. "Oh," he returned, "that is because you do not understand how to hunt. If you kill a fox, his spirit will immediately come out of his body and travel round and tell all the other animals and the birds also that you are after them." So we left the fox alone and got on to a hare. My friend told me that in olden times, whenever the men killed a fox while hunting, they always tied his mouth up tightly so as to prevent his spirit from getting out and going off to spread the news.

Another incident happened very near our home in 224 Sapporo one afternoon. It was winter and I put on a pair of broad Canadian show-shoes and went out to find our dinner for the next day. It was not long before I discovered the tracks of a hare, which I followed up for some time. I saw the animal before me but after about an hour of patiently following him in hope, lost him completely. I then returned home and reported my failure. The next day I went again to the same place and as a little more snow had fallen during the night, quickly found his new foot prints. I put the animal up and again followed him, but once more lost him. As I was returning home along my own snow-shoe track, I was surprised to find that the hare had been following me on the very path I had made! I wondered at his sagacity and returned home once more empty-handed. The next morning I got up and went again to have it out with him. I put him up and followed him. We went in a big circle, but after a time

224 I was in front and he behind! I actually saw him hopping along steadily after me. I therefore got behind a big tree and waited. By and by along he came, but he stopped just out of gun shot, sat up on his hind quarters, looked about, and then proceeded to wash his face with his paws exactly like a cat! After about ten minutes of waiting and looking round, he came on again along my tracks, and I got him as he was passing. I carried him home, where we jugged him, and found him fine eating. He was indeed a wily hare.

539 825 When I brought my hare home, my servant gave me the following lore. "Formerly hares lived in heaven, but when there they were not called 'hares' but 'deer.' They were the god's own deer and they used to be killed for food. They made very choice eating. Now, the animals men call deer were divine dogs and they also dwelt in Paradise. They were the dogs with which the gods hunted the "hare-deer.' The old bucks and does were slow of foot and could not catch the 'hare-deer.' The fleetest and best hunters were two and three year old bucks." Having told me this, he continued thus: "The divine Aeoina once killed a deer in Paradise and ate it. He plucked some of the hairs out of the skin and cast them upon Ainu-land. As soon as they reached here they changed themselves into hares. This is why these animals are always so thin and unsavoury, for there can be no goodness in the hairs of the skin of animals, however sweet the flesh of such creatures may be. Yet in Paradise they are very fat, because they are not hares but deer."

825 783 Hares are not looked upon by the Ainu with favour, for they are supposed to be witches. They are said to enter people's dwellings with the intention of bewitching the family residing there. When their tracks are discovered in the snow near a house they must be scooped up with a water-ladle and carefully turned upside down, in order to prevent evil. While doing

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this, the person must say, "A hare has come to bewitch us, but with this ladle I turn his track upside down and thereby bury his soul under the snow. Therefore, although there are people living in this house, they will not now be bewitched. Let the hare himself sicken and die." 825 783

Hares are supposed to possess extraordinary magical power and to have the evil eye. 825 539

The following legend will show this. They bewitch people by looking at them, and we are told that, being of such a mean origin, they were commanded by God not to presume to look at human beings. "Hares," so runs the tale, "sometimes possess people by looking at them with their great staring eyes. But inasmuch as they are nothing more than the skins of heavenly 'hare-deer,' they are very mean creatures. God therefore gave them orders never to presume to look men straight in the face and always to treat them with due respect. This is the reason why hares, when they see people always naturally look at them either sideways or from behind. Those which look straight at a person do so on purpose to cast a spell on him. Should one find a hare doing so, he should pray very long and earnestly."

On this occasion the following legend was given me by the same man.

"When a hare has been killed, the flesh should be cut off the bones and chopped up fine. It should then be carefully measured in a water-ladle, each ladleful counted and put into a saucepan. Should there be just six measures full, all will be well; but if there be less than six, another hare must be killed, and so on till one is found which will exactly fill the ladle six times. The head should be cut off and fetishes offered to it. The following prayer should be said, when this has been done. 'We have slain thee, O hare, and so present thee with these fetishes. We are now about to

825 539 cook thee and the people will eat thy body. We now measure thy flesh with this water-ladle. If it fills the ladle six times, all thy friends will be able to partake of thee, but should there be less, some will have to go away hungry. In that case we shall be obliged to kill another of thy kind.'" Then the measuring takes place, while all look on. I believe many people heap the ladle up so high that there is always a shortage, of the prescribed six, so that another may be hunted. Surely, as I heard a man once say, "There are tricks in all trades but ours."

115 825 My old servant, Parapita by name, the man who at times received calls from the mountains, as mentioned in another chapter, used to accompany me sometimes of an afternoon, when I went to shoot. Nothing seemed to please him more than this. As we were going along one day, a water-ousel got up, which I brought down, thinking it would be a good specimen for the museum here. My man retrieved it for me, but begged me to allow him to extract the heart and swallow it. "But why"? I asked. He replied, "If I swallow it quickly now, while it is nice and warm, its occult influence will enter into me and make me able to endure fatigue, cause me to become more eloquent, and endow me with ability to shoot as quickly and as steadily and straight as you did then." This request surprised me not a little. I humoured him, however, and saw him swallow the heart whole. Thus the Museum lost a specimen while I gained an ocular demonstration of Ainu belief put into undeniable and reverent practice. Upon our return, Parapita volunteered the following legend.

539 825 "The water-ousel came down from heaven. He is of a black colour and frequents the water courses. He is exceedingly wise of heart and in speech most eloquent. Therefore when he is killed, he should be immediately torn open and his heart wrenched out

and swallowed. This must surely be done before it gets 539
cold. If a man swallows it at once, he will become very 825
fluent and wise, and will be able to overcome all opponents in argument. But this divine bird has power in another way. For, not only does he make people eloquent, but he also makes all who swallow his heart prosper and become wealthier than all others. The person who is fortunate enough to swallow one is called 'the one who has gained a charm.' For this reason the water-ousel should be worshipped and have fetishes offered him."

823 quently. Unless this is done, the people will suffer,
776 some by getting no fish to eat and others by drowning.

I have written about some of the supposed good and bad creatures (gods and demons) of the sea elsewhere, but there are a few other mattters of interest concerning them which have come under my observation and which I think deserve a word or two now. Besides the "Wild Uncle," who has been already spoken of, and the demon described in the chapter on "A fight with the Devil," there is another chief demon of the sea who is called "He who descends upon the calm ocean." His name in the native tongue is *Ko-notoran-guru*. When he reveals himself, as he is sometimes supposed to do, he is said to appear in the shape of a
● [825] very big fish. He has his real home somewhere in midocean. He is of a very evil disposition, frequently stirring up wind and storm and causing wrecks and interfering with the Ainu when out fishing, by driving the fish away and by drowning some of the fishermen. In times of distress he is worshipped, but not on any other occasions. It is very curious to remark that though worshipped, whisky and fetishes are not openly offered him. The reason given is that to offer them openly would incite much envy, jealousy, and anger among the other gods and demons, who desire such
[226 things for themselves alone. Nevertheless, some fisher-
782] men do now and then secretly make fetishes for him and drink *saké* in his honour. But they keep this very secret.

Any abnormal fish, whether it be out of the com-
823 mon in form or colour, is supposed to be a misfortune-
776 giving demon, and when caught is sent back as an
825 offering to the demon of rough weather, whose pro-
226 perty he is supposed to be. We once had a young man
782 staying with us who told me of the following incident, which exactly illustrates this. He said that he and his father, while once out fishing off the coast, caught a

sea turtle. When they got it on board, they were surprised 823
to find one of its feet whiter than the others. 776
It was an uncanny thing. It was a freak. When they
saw this they began to fear. After a time the father 825 ●
declared it to be what he called an *ikonnup*, i.e. "A 226
misfortune-bringing creature." It was a marine ghoul. 782
Therefore, after a prayer, he cut off the foot with his big knife, and dropped both it and the turtle back into the sea. In doing so, he called out to the ghoul in a loud voice, "O thou demon who dost stir up storms, we now return this thy creature to thee. Take good care of him." In this act the old fellow was sending back to the storm and ill-fortune-bringing demon one of his own offspring as a present. It seemed to me a strangely sarcastic thing to do. But to them it was the right and proper procedure, and no insult was intended.

When one party of fishermen desire to bring down 754
evil upon another enemy party, who may have given 226
offence by poaching on what they regarded as their own preserves, they go directly to this same demon of storms, in prayer, and ask him to punish them. They tell me that he does really hear their requests and either soon sends a storm upon the others, so that some of them drown, or renders them unable to catch the fish, or afflicts them with demonomania. When he sends madness upon them, they are said to waste away gradually in sickness and finally die. This is a threat the rival fishermen hold over one another, and, believing it, they become more careful.

This mighty storm-demon is said to be the ancestor 823
and chief of all the wicked minor sea-sprites. He 776
is their owner and director. All are responsible to him. Such minor demons are, for example, "Those who make the sand fly on the seashore" (*Ota-patchi-guru*), and their wives, for they are said to be a married folk. Then the "Sprite of the big rollers," the "genii of the white horses," with hosts of others.

782 saying, 'O ye gods, our sons have gone away, and are
778 now wandering hither and thither in pursuit of animals and fish. We think much of them. Oh, do ye watch over them and prosper them. Help them in what they are doing, and bring them safely home.' So do the old men."

778 I woke up one morning to find the skeleton of a flitter-mouse or bat resting on one tray close to my head, and the skull of a racoon on another very near by. Phew! What a smell! They smelt quite fusty and musty and in every way disagreeable. When I got up, I asked the master of the hut what these things meant and he then gave me the following lore.

The Ainu name for the bat is *Kapap Kamui*, and this means, I believe, 'The divine hook-winged.' When killed, his head and skin are kept wrapped up in fetish shavings and used as a charm. He is classed among the birds, and is supposed to be a special defence against disease and demons in general, like the albatross. It is also said that when used as a fetish and properly and reverently treated, he will make one wise, which word sometimes, nay, very often, I am afraid, stands for 'crafty.' The following legend tells how he once slew a demon of disease by exercising his so-called wisdom in feigning death, and thereby accounts for the fact of his being kept as a fetish; for, being very wise, he is supposed to be able to bestow that quality on those who keep his skeleton by them.

539 "The divine bat did not come down from Paradise,
●825, but was made by God in this world. He is a very
776 precious bird and exceedingly wise. It is said that a person named Poiyaumbe had a town upon the mountains of Battle River. Now it happened that Poiyaumbe was continually and in many ways being persecuted and hard put to it by demons, and this led him to declare war upon them. As he was such a mighty deity, the demons could not withstand him, for he conquered

them wherever he met them. By and by, as a certain war was just beginning to be brought to a successful issue, the demon of contagious diseases came with a large number of boats to the harbour of Battle River. All his army landed and drew their boats on shore, and there set up their lodges. The divine Poiyaumbe was very much annoyed with this invasion and said, 539 825 776

"'I am a deity sent down from heaven to defend Ainu-land. Ever since I have been in this country, the demons have never ceased to persecute me, and I have surely seen much trouble. Still, I have never yet been overcome. But now the devil called "Demon of disease" has come with a multitude of fiends, and pitched his lodge of green branches along the shores of our harbour. Ainu-land has till this day been lying in profound peace, and ought not to be disturbed. But even granted that we should fight here, there would not be sufficient space to carry on such a mighty conflict. I will therefore descend to Hades and do battle there. For, understand this, the demon of contagious disease is a very dreadful being. So fearful is he that if one but catches the scent of him he must very soon die. When this war has been brought to an end, I will reascend to Paradise.'

"Poiyaumbe next sought for a mighty deity to take care of his castle during his absence. At last, after much searching, he came upon a bat, to whom he said, 'You alone are strong enough to take care of my castle; come and guard it for me.' Poiyaumbe then fastened on his armour, girded himself with a belt, buckled on his sword, took his bow in his hands, his arrows in his quiver, and went off. Then the bat entered in and took charge of the castle. In this way is it known that the bat is a very brave and wise deity.

"This castle, which was at the head of Battle River, originally came down from heaven, and it was

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825
776

this castle that the bat came to take care of. These are the reasons that many people offer libations to bats. After a time, a demon came to the castle who, upon seeing the bat, said, "O divine Bat, no doubt thou art placed here to defend the home of the gods; come, let us measure our strength."

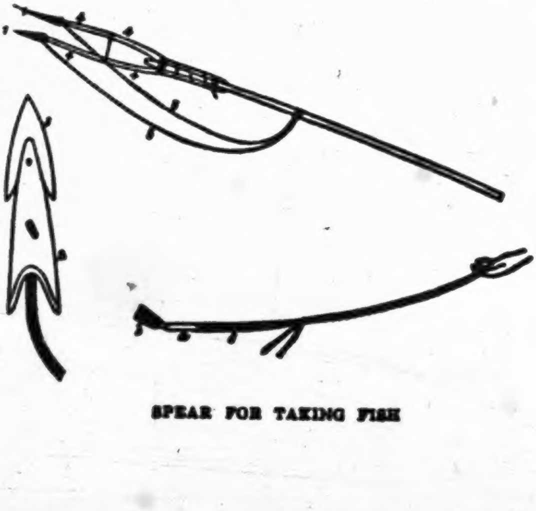
"The bat took up the challenge and said he would fight. The demon thereupon took a poisoned arrow from his bosom and shot the bat dead. There was no need to shoot twice, for he fell over at once. His flesh suddenly dried up and his bones fell apart. The demon then entered the castle and took possession.

"As soon as he was gone in, the bat, though he was a slain deity, yet got up, and with a smile on his face walked in after the demon. The fiend was very greatly surprised to see him. But the bat quickly glided round behind him to where he kept his poisoned arrows, seized them, and in his turn shot the demon dead. The bat was therefore found to be a very wise and exalted bird. For did he not slay that fearful demon? And so it comes to pass that flitter-mice are kept as charms and worshipped."

at will, was fitted into it, while over the top was a 226
platform upon which the fisherman sat. The top bar 227
of the net was allowed to rest in a notch left in the
door-posts for its reception, while the bottom part, to
which the handle was attached, rested upon the bed
of the river. As soon as a fish was known to have
entered the net, the man upon the platform drew the
lower portion of the net up till it met the upper, and
thus the fish was caught. Various other little wicker-
work traps were baited and placed along the streams
for the smaller fry.

The fisherman always had a thick stick of willow
by his side, which was called "head-striking-stick,"
and with this he killed his catch. He did so by knock-
ing it on its head. Penri told me that these fish liked
being struck on the head and thus killed. It was the [825]
universal orthodox way of "sending the divine creature
away." Having been thus "sent off" to their ancestors
and their flesh having been disposed of, they would
return later to be caught and killed again.

The handle of a spear used to catch pike is about eight or nine feet long, and when fitted up, ready for use, it is fully ten feet in length. As will be seen from



SPEAR FOR TAKING FISH

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628 "On coming near them, I took an arrow out of my quiver and shot into the very midst of the herd, where they stood thick; and it was not very long before the mountains became covered with a multitude of those which had tasted poison. There they lay dead. My elder brother also shot into the midst of the does and killed so many that the mountains were covered with their carcases. Within a very short time both herds, bucks and does, were all slain.

"But see! How it happened I cannot tell. Those beings which had shown themselves as deer came to be men.*

"The leader of the enemy spake to me in anger and said, 'Because you are a brave man of the mountains (*Pon-ya-un-be*) and your fame has spread to many lands, you have come hither to make war upon us. You see around you how you have slain many of my people, and you doubtless think to defeat me; but however brave you may be, I think you will find that you have made a mistake.' (This is the challenge).

"When he had thus said, he drew his sword in a lordly way (lit. '*in a high-nosed way*'), and like a flash struck at me with a mighty stroke. In return I also flashed out my sword and attacked him. But when I hit at him, there was no corresponding crashing sound, strike as mightily as I would. It was extremely difficult to come upon him. It was as though the wind caught the point of my sword. But though this was the case, although it was so difficult to come at him, yet I wrought very hard and was so intent that I did not realize that I had been struck and that much blood was spurting from my body. That abominable, bad man was also bleeding profusely.

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[825] *The Ainu with whom I first came into contact firmly believed that in olden times their ancestors could assume the form of animals when they chose, and then change back into their normal condition at will. The deer spoken of in this legend were tribal enemies who had come to fight.

barking "*pau, pau*," like a fox. Others walk into rivers 787 and get drowned, while some fall over precipices and 754 are killed. Like the will-o'-the-wisp, they sometimes lead people astray. They can also make water look like dry land, and the dry land like water.

The woman she pointed out to me was, she said, a particularly spiteful one. When she willed it, she was able to leave her body while still asleep, and roam about the village, the head being attached to her by a very thin thread. Moreover, she could also stretch her neck to any distance when wide awake, and send her head out of the window, peep round corners, and thrust her own face right into the faces of others and stare them out of countenance. She could also whisper into their ears and bewitch them. So elastic was her neck and so spiteful her wicked powers! Thus did the young woman talk on, while I wondered and listened. How it comes to be so, I cannot tell, but those who really believe themselves to be fox-possessed are very difficult to get on with, and one never knows when a fit of it is going to come on. The person who gave me this information, was, it struck me, just the one to work up this disease on her own account, for her mind was so much set on the matter and she was so very much afraid of it.

Foxes are not regarded with very high esteem by 825 this people. By some they are said to have had their origin in a demon out of whose ashes they are supposed to have sprung. They are believed to be extremely crafty or wise, and this is possibly why their skulls are used in divination and exorcism. The legend now to follow shows how it came to pass that foxes were made at all, and why it is they are so much like cats.

"In very ancient times there lived a certain god upon 539 this earth, who was called Marten. He was not made 825 upon this earth originally, but was sent down from

535 Heaven. Now, very far away, right at the other end
825 of the world, there lives a great dreadful demon whose
name is Sam (really "over the edge of the world").
He was not created, but existed long before this world was brought into existence. He had no beginning. He is of such an evil disposition that when God created the world, He could not allow him to dwell in any place where men and women had their habitation. This is the reason why he has been made to dwell over the edge of the world.

"Long, long ago, Sam determined to try his strength with Marten, and so came forth out of his haunts and paid him a visit. On entering Marten's house, he sat down with a heavy thud and said, "I hear it rumoured that you consider yourself to be a great and mighty one. Come, now, let us measure our strength in contest, and so see who is the greater, you or I." Marten readily consented, knowing full well that an evil demon can be no match for a good god. No sooner had the divine Marten agreed to his request than the demon suddenly jumped up, seized him, knocked him down, banged him about, kicked him and then cast him into the fire upon the hearth. Here he supposed he had burnt him clean up. He was beyond measure pleased with himself when he saw what he had done, and plumed himself on his mighty power and easy victory.

"After a little rest he got up, with the intention of returning to his far-away home. But lo, a very remarkable thing now occurred. As he was going out of the door, the owner, whom he thought he had destroyed by fire, met him very much alive and in perfect trim. Sam was intensely taken aback at this and felt a little afraid. But before he could place himself in an attitude of defense, Mr. Marten seized him and in his turn knocked him down by the fireside. He rolled him over and over into the very heart of the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

fire and burnt him completely up. Sam strove mightily to retain his spirit within him and go up the chimney intact, but Marten was too much for him. 539 825

"Thereupon Sam strove hard to ascend upward by turning himself into smoke, and so escape through the roof. But even this proved quite futile, for Marten, divining his intention, blew hard at him with his mouth, so that he fell again and again back into the fire till he was quite destroyed, and that amid much suffering. His ashes alone remained.

"But although Sam's remains looked just like ordinary ashes, some black, some red and others whitish and yellow, yet, being the remains of a bad demon, it was impossible to take all life out of them. They therefore changed themselves into foxes and cats. Thus it is known that cats and foxes are closely allied and are, indeed, of the same family. It is therefore a most fearful thing to be possessed by either of these creatures. They owe their origin to a demon and so have a demoniacal nature."

A little fox tells the following story:

"We are six little brother foxes, and I am the youngest of the family. I have always been weakly and useless. By day and by night I can do nothing but lie by the hearth, watching the smoke ascend to the smoke-hole, and look at the wood-ashes flying upward, and then see them fall down and settle on my coat. 539 825 789

"We were one day told that a gentleman of another village had gone to a distance to barter goods and would not be home again for some time. My five elder brothers were talking about this and I heard them say that they would go off to the gentleman's house and steal his wife's soul away. Having heard this, I thought thus within myself: 'That gentleman is a good and god-fearing man. He makes many fetishes

539 which are acceptable to the gods, and so the land is
825 prosperous. He has also been very kind to me. If
789 my brothers do as they have determined to do, he will be very much grieved and inconvenienced.' I lay and thought much on the matter.

"Now, one evening, my brothers started out to do as they said. As soon as they were outside, I followed. I ran through the forest as fast as I could and came to the house before them. Before entering, I turned myself into the exact form of the master and then went in and sat down at the head of the hearth. The mistress soon came and sat in her place beside me. Then I said, 'I am the youngest brother of six little foxes. My five brothers, who are even now on their way hither, are coming to steal away your soul in the absence of your husband. I am very sorry for this
[262] and am come to help you. When these men arrive, give them some hard fish roe and seaweed to eat; you will then discover whether they are true men or really foxes.' They very soon came along, and the five all entered the house one after the other, and sat down. They did not know me because I had assumed the form of the master, and I closely imitated his manner, the mistress being seated beside me. Presently, when the salutations were over, the lady cooked some hard fish-roe and seaweed together and gave all of them some to eat. I also ate with them. When I had finished I drew my little knife, sharpened a stick nicely, and then began to pick my teeth with it. But I watched the five men and could hardly restrain myself when I saw them lift up their hind feet and scrape their teeth with their claws.*

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*It should be remarked that fish-roe boiled with seaweed is a most glutinous food, and adheres to the teeth very tenaciously. One *must* pick his teeth after eating it. Lifting up their feet to their mouths showed them to be foxes and not men, as they wished the woman to think.

"After sitting and chatting for some time we all 539
lay down to sleep. I lay in the master's place and the 825 ●
mistress placed herself by my side. I listened care- 789
fully all the time, and did not sleep at all, but watched. The five men slept soundly and breathed hard. By and by I got up very quietly and took a lump of hard baked ashes from the hearth, which I carefully placed in the bosom of my friend's wife, and sat down to watch and see what would happen.

"Soon after, I heard my brothers quickly waking one another up. Then all at once a loud cry was heard, 'Seize the woman's soul!' and a rush was made by my elder brother, who came and took away what I had hidden in the lady's bosom. They went off running. I rose quickly and ran so fast that I got home before them and lay down. Not long after, in walked my five brothers carrying the soul they had stolen. As they were looking at it, that cake of hard baked ashes crumbled up and slipped through their fingers. When I saw that, I could hardly keep from laughing, but I did just manage to restrain myself. My brothers were exceedingly angry, for they now supposed the lady to be superior to them in magic power. The next day they consulted together as to what steps to take now, and then towards evening set out once more to steal her soul. As before, I started directly after them and arrived at the house first, and told the lady my brothers were coming again, and asked her to do exactly as she had done the night before. Very soon, in walked my five brothers, and once more the house lady fed them with fish roe and seaweed. When they had finished they picked their teeth with their hind claws and so proved themselves to be foxes, as I said they were.

"When it was dark, all retired to rest, and I lay down in the master's place. I did not sleep at all, but listened intently till my brothers were fast asleep. I

539 then stole quietly across to them and snipped off the
825 tip of one ear of my elder brother. This I brought
789 and placed in the bosom of the mistress. I then lay down again. Soon there was a noise of men waking up, and all at once came the cry, "Seize the woman's soul!" Then the second eldest brother rushed across the floor and took her soul. They at once went out, and rejoiced greatly because they had now got it. I immediately followed them and rushed home by short cuts, so that I arrived first. Here, as before, I assumed innocence, pretending that I had been nowhere. They soon followed one another in through the doorway, carefully carrying the soul. When they examined it, they found it to be nothing but a piece of common fur. At last they found out that it was really from one of the ears of my eldest brother! They were supremely angry at this and said, 'Yes, that woman has indeed greater magical powers than we.' Then they shook their heads at me, (for I was greatly agitated, shaking with suppressed laughter), and said, 'Is not our very sickly little brother helping that woman?' To this I replied, 'How should one so sickly and tiny as I help anyone against you, my big, strong brothers? You see how weak I am. Am I able to go anywhere? Why do you talk to me like that?'

"My brothers were very anxious to take that woman's soul, and, being very angry, went out and prayed to two big bears, asking them to go and steal it for them. They made many fetishes for them, so that their prayers were heard. I was very sorry and set off to warn the lady of what was determined against her. On my way, as I passed through a place where the gentleman had been getting his fire-wood, I tore up a big dry stump of a tree and put it on my shoulders, and I also wrenched up one green tree and carried it along with me. Entering the house, I placed the stumps on two beams and endowed one with the

power of speech and the other with powers of a mad- 539
man's chatter, who imitates what others may be 825 ●
saying. I then sat down as before and told the lady 789
what was happening about the bears. That done, I made myself a little burrow, furnished it with fetishes, and waited there, well hidden from view.

"As I sat thus in my burrow, I heard someone walking *thud, thud, swish, swish, snap, snap, sh, sh,* through the forest, the sounds varying as the walking was on dry or damp ground, on withered or green twigs. He came right up to the house and turned out to be a great he-bear. As soon as I saw him, I jumped upon a beam with a mighty howl, which one of the tree stumps took up and the other imitated like a madman. At the same time down fell the stumps right on his back. With a grunt of wrath he turned and fled. I hastened to re-arrange the two stumps and had only just finished when along came another bear, a very old and mighty one. I jumped up as before, the stumps howled as I had taught them, and then they fell heavily on his back. He became very angry and rushed off growling loudly.

"I then retired to my burrow behind the house 539
and stayed there quietly. I soon heard that those two 825
mighty bears went straight to my brothers, five foxes 776
in all, killed them and broke up all their bones. At last 782
the master returned with much rice, *saké*, cloth and 778
other goods. I heard his wife say to him when they were sitting by the fire, 'While you were away, six little brother foxes came twice and used their magical skill by which they endeavored to steal my soul away. But thanks to the youngest of them, a very tiny fox, who is a poor, weakly creature, you now find me alive. Next they prayed to two great he-bears to help them, but, thanks again to that little fox, I still live.' When he heard this, the gentleman was very grateful to me

539 and made many fetishes for me, which he set up in
● 825 various places.

776 "Thanks to this, I have become a new creature,
strong and well, and big. And I have become his
782 guardian angel. When I look down from above and see
778 this fine gentleman, I find that whatever he does, he does well, and he has become the richest man in the whole of that district. He has prospered beyond all others, because I look down upon him with favour."

# CHAPTER LV

## ANOTHER FOX STORY

*Pau, Pau, Pau* sounded a voice not far from the hut 539
in which I was to spend the night with a hunter. We 825
were sitting chatting by the hearth, upon which a nice fire was burning brightly, when the cry suddenly came. A hush at once fell upon all present; even the baby looked up into her mother's face as if scared. "There he is again, the sly, wicked brute!" said the father and master. "What is it?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "it was the bark of a bewitching fox, and he means no good to anyone." All were much cast down in spirit and seemed to have a presentiment of evil to come.

In reciting their legends, the Ainu have a good deal to say about bears and foxes assuming human forms and appearing to people. Bruin usually comes with a good and kindly purpose, but Reynard always sneaks
along with evil intent. The fox is supposed to take [754]
the shape of a human being sometimes, in order to go to the man's wife or sweet-heart while he is away from home, and either bewitch her by entering into her heart himself, or steal her soul and carry it off, sometimes in his own heart. Or it may be he will assume the shape of a woman and go to her lover or husband while she herself is absent. So the people fear foxes as a rule, and become anxious when they hear one bark at night, as we did that evening.

A fox tells his own story, as follows:

"As I, a little fox, was living quietly in my own house, [754
I heard it noised abroad that the wife of a certain 789]
gentleman who resided not far away was famous

539 among both gods and men for her astonishing beauty.
825 This filled me not only with curiosity but also with
754 envy. So having, by means of telepathy, put it into the heart of her husband to leave his home for a visit
789 to a distant place, I made myself an ancient pipeholder just like his, to stick in my girdle. I then assumed the form of the woman's husband, arrayed myself in garments like his, arranged the pipe and holder I had made, donned a turban, and so made myself look like her spouse in every respect. I then sallied forth from my home and came a short way towards their house. As I went along, I pulled up two tree stumps, set them upside down, and made them look like servingmen. I gave them my bundles to carry and caused them to walk behind me.

"As we proceeded along the sea-shore and neared the house, I imitated the gentleman's gait. When I came to the door, I opened it quietly and entered. On looking in, I saw a lady sitting by the hearth. She was the wife. I had never seen her like before, for she had a most glorious, godlike countenance. She moved on one side for me and I came and sat down near her. I occupied the master's place. I was very much moved in spirit, and, heaving a deep sigh, jumped up and went out again, much agitated. In confusion of spirit I knew not what to do. So I walked on halfway to my own house again, but then I mastered myself and returned to her home. When I had sat down again, I told her very many lies. She did not look at me particularly, for she thought I was her husband. Yes, although I saw her smile she did not look at me once even. After a time she rose up from her place and gave me some soup. She also fed my men—those men I had brought with me.

"When all had finished eating, she made up the beds for the guests. We then retired to our sleeping-places, she and I together as husband and wife. I

listened carefully and heard all sleeping fast, the wife 539
also sleeping quietly beside me. Just about midnight 825 ●
I struck her a sudden blow on her bosom and seized her 754
soul, with which I quickly made off. 789

"On reaching home I made her my wife, fed her well, and rejoiced with her. So happy were we that I could not bring myself to leave the house. But very soon the birds came and told me that the gentleman had returned to his home. As he was drawing near to it, he discovered his wife's corpse lying by the roadside in a decomposing condition. He was greatly affected [756] and sent for six male shamans who were brothers, and six female shamans also, who all lived near. When they arrived, the males performed the shaman rites. Nevertheless their eyes were unable to reach me for I had covered myself well. But at last the youngest one of them very nearly discovered me. When I saw that he was just about to set his eyes on me, I caught up a tuft of grass and waved it upwards. This made many mountains to spring up as a screen between us, so that he did not see me.

"Then the male shamans were all sent out of the house and the females brought in. All six performed the shaman rites. The youngest of them all but set eyes on me. She said in her frenzy, 'A bachelor witch-fox wanted a wife and went off to find one. When thou wentest away, he came to thy house, seized thy wife's soul and bore it away. He married her and now she and he are living happily together. Tomorrow at the break of day thou shalt go to fight him.' So spake she.

After that I could not sleep and kept awake till daylight appeared. Just before noon I heard voices close to my house. Very soon after, I heard fire roaring close by and tongues of fire began to come through the cracks. I gave my wife a push, turned her into a little bird, and then popped her into my mouth. That

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 done, I ran to and fro about my house. There were
● 825 two openings, through one of which a tongue of fire
754 from a burning log leaped out into the yard. Seeing
789 this, I rushed out with it and alighted upon my feet. Then all at once two great burning sticks of wood fell upon my body. From that time I knew nothing and all appears like a bad dream." Thus ends the story as told by Reynard himself.

778 through several generations. The skull of a fox is supposed to ward off evil from the house. It is sometimes carried to the hunt and to sea
[825 787] as a protection against evil spirits. It is also consulted as an oracle,

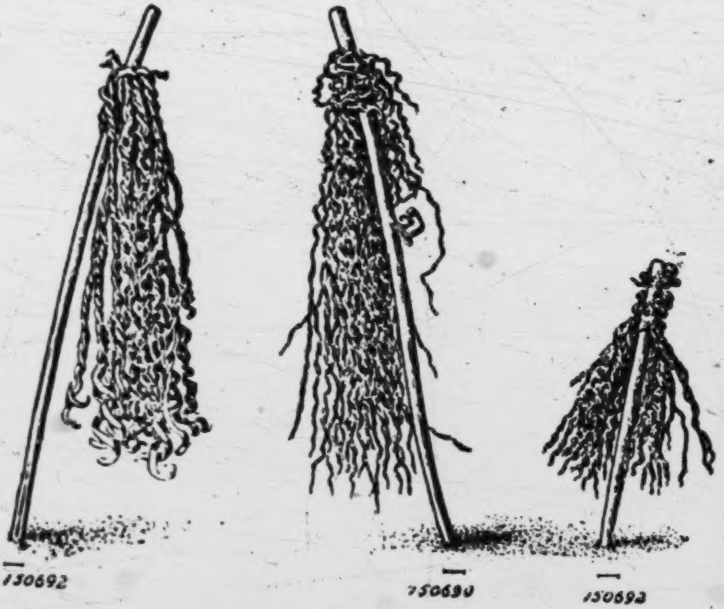

Fig. 86.

INAO — WILLOW STICKS WITH SHAVINGS ATTACHED.

and questioned concerning articles lost or stolen, or when fishermen lose their way at sea, in order to learn the direction home.

## FORTUNE-TELLING.

787 The manner of consulting the fox-skull oracle has been described by Dr. Scheube. After presenting a drink-offering, the skull is taken in the two hands while a prayer is spoken. Then, placing the underjaw on his head, the person bows forward until it falls, and the direction towards which it points, indicates the place where the lost or stolen article is to be found. If the jawbone falls on its side, or so that the teeth are down, the answer is not decisive and the question must be repeated. A thief discovered in this manner is not brought to trial,
[685] but the owner of the property waits patiently until the offender brings back the stolen goods and seeks forgiveness. The Ainos also read the lines of the palm of the hand.

## THE BEAR FEAST.

796 The great Aino festival is the so-called bear feast, which is celebrated in September or October. This festival is of such an important charac-

ter as to be worthy of a full description; but, since I was unable to be 796 present at a celebration myself, I can do no better than to give a rather full account of the ceremonies as witnessed by Dr. Scheube,* who has published the only complete description yet given by an eye witness. The original article is rather long, but in somewhat condensing the description it is believed that no detail of importance or significance has been omitted.

Before entering upon a description of the festival the bear-cage and 343 *nusha kamui* should be noticed. The bear-cage is represented in Plate CXIII. The cages are all of this general form, built of logs notched at the ends so as to hold securely together. The bear sometimes makes most strenuous efforts to free himself by scratching and gnawing with his teeth through the tough, heavy rails, so that it becomes necessary to take out the old ones and replace them with others. This is easily done, for, owing to the manner of putting the cage together, any rail can be replaced by prying up those above it.

I saw many such bear-cages in the course of my travels in Yezo, but it is said that they are less numerous now than they formerly were. The *nusha kamui*, or sacred hedge, already referred to, is represented in 778 Plate CXII, from a photograph taken at Urap. It is also shown in some of the succeeding plates. This rude hedge of rough poles is an important structure in connection with the ceremony about to be described, as well as in other religious observances. The significance of the name is not exactly "temple," but it is the nearest approach to "temple" in the Aino language. Before it prayers are recited to most of the gods, although not to all, as we shall see. It is here designated "sacred hedge" for convenience.

Dr. Scheube witnessed the bear feast in 1880, and his account reads 114 substantially as given below. Plates CXIV to CXVII, illustrating the ceremonies at the bear feast, are reproductions of Japanese drawings, from a makimono formerly belonging to Mr. Edward Greey, now in possession of the Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Dr. G. Brown Goode. Dr. Scheube has given two illustrations of the ceremony, which are substantially the same, although in one picture the crushed bear has his head directed toward the sacred hedge, while the men sit with their backs against the hedge. Perhaps there is no established custom in the matter, and such incidental changes are of no significance.

### THE BEAR CULTUS OF THE AINOS.

[Condensed from Dr. B. Scheube.]

According to the accounts of travelers concerning the Ainos, the 825 bear is honored by this peculiar people as a god. But it would be an 776

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* Der Bärencultus und die Bärenfeste der Ainos, mit einigen Bemerkungen über die Tänze derselben. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Dec., 1880.

825 error to suppose that the Ainos regard the bear as a god in the same
776 sense as they do the God of Fire, for example, or any of their other
numerous deities. The bear is called *Kimui*; *Kamui-Kamui* is an Aino
word having about the same meaning as the Japanese *Kami*, and perhaps is derived from it. But the same word is used as an honorable
[576] appellation for foreign visitors, upon whom we can not possibly believe
they would confer the attributes of a deity.

The Ainos have good reason to respect the bear. It is a most valuable animal, affording them food and clothing and a medicine, the bear-gall, which is greatly prized. On the other hand, it can do them great injury, as when it destructively enters their dwellings and kills their domestic animals. Therefore it is natural that they should seek to propitiate the bear, to confer upon him a title of great honor, and that they should consider an atonement necessary for putting him to death. They place the skull of the dead bear on the sacred hedge, the *nusha kamui*, which is found on the east side of every house, where it is held sacred
[778] and honored as a representative of the gods under the name *Kamui
marapto*. The *nusha kamui*, god's fence, or sacred hedge, (Pl. CXII) is where the various gods are worshiped, except the God of Fire and the house-god, to which offerings are made at certain places within the house. The bear feast is named *iomante*. This ceremony, as well as the preliminary feeding and rearing of a young bear, has also the motive of an atonement to the whole bear tribe for the killing of its brothers and sisters.

231 At the end of winter a young bear is caught, placed in a cage (Pl.
796 CXIII), and reared in the village. At first it is suckled by the wife of the captor, afterwards fed with fish. The bear festival usually takes place in September or October, by which time the young bear has grown so large and strong as to threaten to break the cage. The Ainos first endeavor to exculpate themselves before the gods for what they are about to undertake. Having rendered the bear every favor possible, they can no longer keep him in captivity; therefore it is necessary to kill him.

796 The man who gives the feast, assumes the expense thereof and invites his relatives and friends. Such a festival is, considering the poverty of the Ainos, very expensive, for enormous quantities of saké are consumed. Hence it is considered a great honor to give a bear feast. At the present time the bear feasts are becoming more and more infrequent. On the east coast, so far as I traveled (from Tomakomai to Volcano Bay), no bear feast had been held for several years. The same remark applies to the district around Mori, on Volcano Bay. I have generally seen caged bears only on the road from Urap to Oshamambe. In this region I found the Ainos least affected by culture. Here, in the small village of Kunnai, I spent the day, which will be the subject of the following description:

On the 10th of August of this year, about noon, I arrived at Kunnai, 123 destroyed. The evening came, and the little Japanese police- 609 man brought the resigned and humbled Ainu to the inn. Their wives and relatives followed, and they all looked supremely mournful and sad. I sat, Japanese fashion, on the small verandah on the ground-floor, and the policeman placed the Ainu on a line in front of me, and then came to sit by my side. He then addressed them, partly in the Ainu language, partly in Japanese, and bestowed on them names which went well to the point. He scolded them harshly, and asked them 123 why they had assaulted me.

609 531 One of them, as grave as a judge, with his eyes cast down, [789] and in a half-broken voice, came forward and said, that if once you have your likeness taken you have to give up your life [753] to it, and it brings illness to yourself, to your children, your parents, and your neighbours. Not only that, but as I had [131] *taken* many people together, famine was sure to fall on the country. "Then," he added—and he seemed positive of what he was talking about—"then there was a fish the stranger *made*"—the Ainu have no word for painting—"and had we ● [805] not destroyed his *makings* all the fish would have disappeared from the sea, and all the Ainu would have died of starvation" —which was a terrible contingency, as the Ainu live mainly by fishing. "We have not hurt the stranger," continued this hairy representative of Master Eustache de St. Pierre, "and now that all the Ainu and the fish he made are destroyed we are safe."

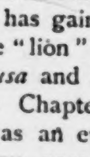
"You are mistaken," said I, when, by the aid of the policeman, I understood the meaning of this long harangue, and I produced the large sketch of the scene which I had repainted from memory. This certainly beat them. They could hardly believe their own eyes, and looked at each other as if some great calamity were approaching. I have no doubt that they considered me an evil spirit, and, as such, too powerful to be contended with. Discretion was their best part of valour, as 123 they proved. One by one they approached the verandah, sat 516 cross-legged in front of me, rubbed their hands together, 516 stroked their hair and beard three times, and three times each 609 put his head down to my feet, begging my pardon. The 123 Ainu women and children who had assembled in the back 609 yard, where the function took place, were crying and moaning

343 the upper Tokachi, however, they are covered with the bark of trees.

417 Next in connection with Ainu habitations comes the skull-trophy at the east end of the hut. This is on a parallel line to
● 825 the hut wall, and only a few yards away from it, and is made
554 of a number of bi-forked poles, upon which are placed the skulls of the bears, wolves, and foxes killed by the owner of the hut. The Ainu is proud of this trophy, and if the number of bear skulls is very large, he commands a certain amount of respect from his hairy brethren. There is nothing that Ainu admire more than courage, and there is nothing in the world that an Ainu desires more than to be thought brave. When he has gained this character a man becomes in a certain way the "lion" of the village. He embellishes his trophy with a *Nusa* and *Inaos* (willow wands with overhanging shavings—*see* Chapter on Superstitions), and he always looks on it as an evidence of his manly glory. Besides this, many
231 Ainu possess one or two live bears kept in cages. Bear hunters often secure one or more cubs, which they bring home and allow to live in the hut like one of the family or an Irishman's pig. These cubs are nursed along with and in the same manner as the children, and Ainu say that women often put them to the breast and suckle them like their own infants. Whether this is true or not I cannot say; but though I have never seen it, and therefore cannot vouch for it, it is not unlike Ainu women to do such a thing.

417
231 When the new-comers grow big and powerful enough to be dangerous, the men make a rough cage with logs of timber, placing them one over the other in a quadrangular shape, and lashing them strongly together. The bear is driven into the cage, which is then roofed over; and after a couple of years of confinement, during which it is fattened, poor Bruin is killed for a bear festival. In the lower part of the cage there is a small wooden tray by which food is served to the captive.

[812]



THE APE-KILAI, OR EARTH-RAKE, AS USED BY PIRATORI AINU.

On the north-east coast of Yezo I have also seen smaller cages, in which foxes, eagles, or other animals are kept; and I always noticed the care which Ainu took to

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

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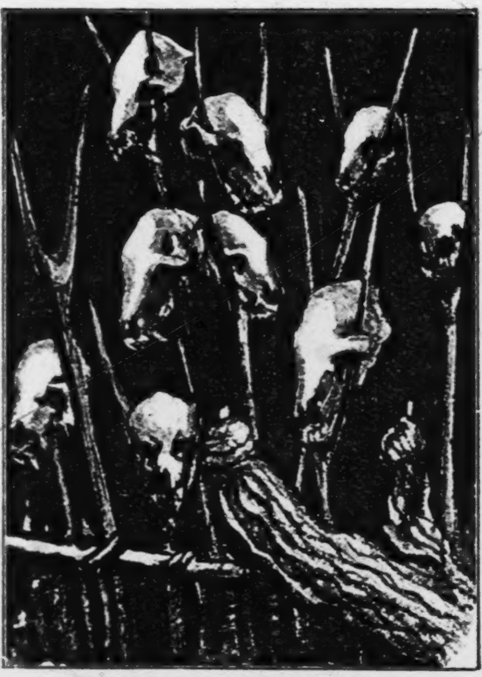

TROPHY OF BEARS' SKULLS.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### The Ainu Superstitions—Morals—Laws and Punishments.

I CANNOT begin this chapter better than by saying that Ainu 771
religious ideas are essentially chaotic. They recognise no
supreme God, and no intelligent Creator; and they cannot be [776]
called polytheists, for indeed they are not *worshippers* of any
power—taking the word in its full meaning. The Ainu
worship nothing.

If they have any belief at all it is an imperfect kind of 771
Totemism, and the central point of that belief is their own 825
descent from the "bear." This does not include the smallest 520
reverence for their ancestor. They capture their "Totem
and keep it in captivity; they speak to it and feed it; but no
prayers are offered to it. When the bear is fat, it is taken out
of the cage to be ill-treated and baited by all the men present.
It is tied to a stake and a pole is thrust into its mouth; and

[p.281]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

771 when the poor beast has been sufficiently tortured, pricked ●825 with pointed sticks, shot at with blunted arrows, bruised with 527 stones, maddened with rage and ill-usage, it is killed outright, and, "ancestor" as it may be, it makes the chief dish and *raison d'être* of a festival, where all the members of the tribe partake of its flesh. The owner of the hut in which the feast takes place then sticks the skull on to a forked pole, and sets it outside with the others at the east end of his hut. The skin is made 237 into garments, or is spread on the ground to sleep on.

In addition to this rudimentary kind of Totemism—if I 771 may call it so—the Ainu show a certain amount of fear and respect for anything which supports their life or can destroy it. This, however, is under the form of an "instinct" rather than a "religious feeling." Dumb animals of any kind are similarly affected by powers which they cannot explain; but as we would not think for a moment that when a dog is barking at the moon the dog is worshipping the orb of night, or when it basks in the sun that it is offering prayers and reverence to the orb of day, no more should we think that the Ainu, who are not much above dumb animals, worship all they respect and fear.

If other writers, most of whom have never visited the Ainu 114 country, had not written on this subject, I would have limited 771 myself to saying that the Ainu, properly speaking, have no religion, but as certain untenable theories and false ideas have been published, I feel bound to state what I know on the subject, that, so far as I can, I may correct these erroneous impressions. I regard myself as qualified to speak with some authority, as I am the *only* foreigner who has seen and studied *all* the different tribes of Ainu in Yezo and the Kuriles; while other writers, the few who have actually been there, have based their statements on a few half-castes or Ainu in the more civilised part of southern Yezo, collecting from them ideas left behind by previous travellers, and offering them to the public as purely Ainu. That these hasty travellers and cursory writers have been deceived, or have deceived themselves, is not astonishing; for it must be borne in mind that 141 the Ainu language is as poor in words as the Ainu brain is deficient in thoughts. Thus it is no easy matter to explain to an Ainu what is meant by "religion," by "divinities," and by

778 to his own. All of these are divine objects, and are called
771 *kamui* in the Ainu language. Even a man may be a kamui,
776 provided he distinguish himself among his kinsmen by some-
[554] thing, — bravery, eloquence, success, etc. But not all kamui
are objects of worship.

● 825 The Ainu pantheon is almost exclusively *zoölogical.* There
776 is not a beast, especially of the large ones, — like the bear, the
782 whale, the orc, the walrus, the sea-lion, the seal, the sable, the
171 otter, etc., — which he does not honor with the name "kamui."
Beast and kamui are synonymous. In contrast to the Gilyak, Orok, and other natives of the Amur region, who discriminate between a mere beast and a god-beast, — that is, a god-man who has assumed the shape of this or that beast, — the Ainu, in addition, see a kamui in each beast as such. But, like the Gilyak, they pay a properly conscious worship (in the form of offerings and prayers), not to beast in general, but to the "masters"[1] of each species or element, who, in their turn, too, are called *kamui* (in the sense of "master"), with the appellation of this or that sphere of nature added; for example, *nuburi-kamui* ("master of the mountain"), *atui-kamui* ("master of the sea"), *toy-kamui* ("master of the subterranean world"), *chup-kamui* ("master of the sun"), etc.

776 The principal gods on whom the welfare of the Ainu depends are the "masters" of the mountain and sea, who supply them with the main objects of subsistence, — beasts, fish, sea-animals. These are purely zoölogical gods. The one is the "master" of the bear. On the one hand, he is a man; on the other, a real bear, only of unusually large size. All other bears are his fellow-tribesmen.

The "master" of the sea is the orc, *Orca gladiator.* The cult of this beast, as well as the cult of the bear, I have described in detail in my article on the religion of the Gilyak.[2]

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[1] Here and throughout this article the words "master" and "mistress" are used in a special sense. Both are a translation of the Russian word *khozyain* (literally, "proprietor of a house"), then a well-to-do man, an esteemed proprietor in the village or town. Just as in communities there are well-to-do, respected citizens and poor fellows, so, among the gods and animals, there are kamui ("masters"), those better off, respected, powerful, those of authority.

[2] See Ethnographical Review (Russian), February, 1904.

778 the Ainu, when making a medicinal effigy of a tiger-man, fasten
[171] on its breast an exact miniature reproduction of it, which is to
serve as an amulet for the deity itself.

778 On the other hand, inau become the customary amulets for
755 men also. They began to be applied first in cases of sickness.
789 The diseased parts of the body, particularly the head, came to
be bound with shavings. The stem, in such cases, as preventing their application, was cast away. This mode of healing created a whole pharmacology of bandages, frontlets, belts, in which the shavings appear in the shape of the most diverse plaitings (cords, circlets, etc.) in conjunction with various other amulets, like glass beads, wooden images of various organs of the body, etc. (see Plate XXXIV, Fig. 5; Plate XXXV, Figs. 3 and 5). To strengthen their effect, the shaving-plaitings receive, moreover, the form of various magic figures, as circles
[532] (symbol of the sun), and similar magic symbols. Another
step, and the medicinal bandages, with their artful plaitings of
[291] shavings, entered the every-day sphere of dress and ornaments.

[301] It is instructive to trace this development in the ceremonial
796 of attiring the bear at the festival. Primarily they adorned
● 825 the slain bear with shavings alone as the necessary amulets for
291 the slain animal, just as the Gilyak, in such cases, attach to the
301 bear an image of a toad, their mightiest amulet. The heads
789 of killed seals, even nowadays, before being cast into the sea,
are tied over with mere shavings. But at present the modest shavings on the bear's head have turned into a whole complex of head-gear, frontlets, ear-caps, ear-rings, etc., daintily plaited of shavings (see Plate XXXV, Figs. 2, 6).

kaido, but some time in 1934 he wrote saying he intended to remain 114
in the Ainu country permanently.

In his letters he mentioned that he had recorded in the Ainu 114
language, and translated, a large number of songs and legends,
fifty invocations for the treatment of various ailments, many treatments 126
for difficult childbirth, and descriptions of ceremonies and
exorcism rites. He had also made notes on music and pastimes. He
took some films when interesting ceremonies were held in the
neighbourhood, and as he was not satisfied with these he engaged
a professional photographer to work under his direction, while
taking stills himself. Munro also mentioned that films were taken
of rites and ceremonies connected with fertility, pregnancy, parturition,
spirit possession and the treatment of diseases; also of
ritual dancing and the Beer-straining and the Bear Ceremony. Unfortunately,
only the last of these films reached this country. It is
now in the possession of the Royal Anthropological Institute,
where it was shown on the 10th January 1933. Recently, a positive
was made from the original negative, and was shown in Athens in
September 1961, at a meeting of the Comité International du Film
Ethnographique et Sociologique.

The Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rites. Munro 114
witnessed it several times but did not include a description for his 796
book. He did mention, however, that the part of it which is performed
inside the house is similar to the House-warming Ceremony,
and he sent a photograph (Pl. XIII,) of the *inau* set up for
the rite. For it, a bear cub was caught and tended with great care [776]
and reverence, and actually treated as the representative of the god,
or perhaps the god (*kamui*) itself. When grown to suitable size, the [825]
caged bear was killed ritually. It seemed a serious omission for a
book on Ainu religion to have no account of the most important
rite. I have therefore added an account made from the captions
Munro wrote for his film (Appendix II).

Munro also saw, on many occasions, the ritual with which a 114
hunted bear was killed, but neither is there a written account of [224]
this. There is a short description of the former rite by Batchelor,
in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 249.

Various adverse circumstances made the progress of work
slower than Munro expected. The rigorous climate and the hard
and lonely conditions of life at Nibutani told severely on his health.
Seligman raised money from private sources to enable him to carry [122]

114 had reliable information; he expected the existence of local variations.

114 774 776 824 The chief difference in interpretation is in regard to the spiritual essence in vegetation. Munro states that Shiramba Kamui is the god of vegetation and that all vegetation derives *ramat* (spirit or soul) from him. Trees have *ramat*, thus wood also has *ramat*. Some kinds of wood have more spiritual power than others, hence are more sacred, and are specially valuable for certain purposes. Mr Watanabe states that every plant is the 'incarnation of a spirit, all beasts, birds, fishes and insects are *kamui*-spirits. . . . In the country of the *kamui* they take human form . . . and live as human beings.' When they visit the Ainu 'they disguise themselves as trees and grass, etc.'. The ceremony translated in this book as 'ritual dismissal' sends the spirit home to the land of the *kamui*. According to Mr Watanabe, the sacred objects made of vegetable matter derive their virtue from the spirit of the individual plant from which they are made, not from Shiramba Kamui.

114 ●825 776 [782] With regard to the animal world, the difference in interpretation is not so great. Munro does not suggest that the Ainu believe that all animals are *kamui*, but that there are good and bad animals of the same species, and this is specially noted of bears, snakes, foxes and hornets. Protection from bad animals can be obtained by appealing to their *kamui* chiefs, who can restrain their own bad subordinates.

114 104 Differences in spelling also occur, mostly in regard to labials, palatals and gutturals. Munro transliterates them as b, d and g (Shiramba, *iomande* and *ongami*), Mr Watanabe as p, t and k. I have retained Munro's spelling, and for the sake of consistency have had to alter Mr Watanabe's. In support of this decision, I may mention that Nibutani is the official postal address for the village in which Munro lived.

114 It was Munro's intention to write a complete historical and cultural account of the Ainu, as well as descriptions of their technology. He called it *Ainu Past and Present*. However, after consideration of the material at our disposal, our committee came to the conclusion that it was best to include in this book only that part of his work which deals with ritual and belief and their effect on Ainu daily life. An article on the 'Building of an Ainu House', compiled by Lord Raglan from Munro's notes, was published in *Man*, Vol. LIX, No. 285, October 1959. It is hoped that other

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## INTRODUCTION

771 remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

621 The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A
[594] group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the
number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty,
[162] but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers,
361 and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing
grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

621 A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically
423 autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was
expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and
[184] common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local
groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

226 Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most im-
796 portant was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The
621 elders of each household in the local group, owning common
salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the
[774] coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the
spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

224 Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to
● 825 ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best
796 known of all Ainu rituals.

*London, 1956*

### *Postscript by B. Z. Seligman*

648 It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu
175 were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier
posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

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[613] [1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itohpa
[622] uko kor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim
[114] to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

771
## FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

774 In some degree this was extended to *ramat* in general. The *ramat*
782 of a snake or wasp, for example, is almost sure to harbour resent-
825 ment if the creature is killed unceremoniously. Death comes to all,
and for *ramat* it simply means change of body or abode. But to be
forced to leave without, as it were, receiving due notice, is apt to
cause resentment. In times past the *ramat* of small animals and
birds killed, or even found dead, was placated by some wrappings
of sacred *inau* shavings, and animals ritually killed were sent off
[796] with great ceremony. Sacrifice other than the ritual dismissal
(*kamui iomande*) of the bear is now seldom seen, but the Bear
Ceremony is still characteristic of Ainu belief and ritual.[1]

776 To offend any kind of *kamui* involved the risk of retaliation by
787 spirit magic or actual spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a good
as well as a bad spirit possession. (See Chapter IX.)

774 *Kamui* operate by possession or by the exercise of magic power.
There are words for different kinds of magical operation; one
776 closely associated with *ramat* but, according to my informants,
782 quite distinct from it, is *mawe*. In prayers soliciting help against
evil spirits I have found *mawe* to mean magic; it is a magic agency
787 employed by *ramat*. Some *kamui* have more *ramat* than others and,
like the Pacific *mana*, it is attributed to human beings in different
measure. This is not so marked in the present degenerate culture,
though a magnetic personality still enjoys some repute for specially
efficient power in dealing with evil spirits.

756 Those who perform the rites are the *ekashi*. This word is a term of respect which as a rule means elder and will usually be so translated, though it is also used to mean grandfather and ancestor. The corresponding feminine term is *fuchi*, which means primarily grandmother, but also ancestress and goddess.

Batchelor speaks of the *ekashi* as shamans, and in a broad sense this is not incorrect.[2] The rites which they perform, and the nature

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[776] [1] The Ainu believed that every deity lived in the country of deities, with a mode of life similar to that of the Ainu, and had human form. When a deity
[825] visited the Ainu, it dressed appropriately. For example, Kim-un Kamui, Deity of the High Mountains, put on the skin of a bear. When animals which embodied particular deities were caught by the Ainu, the spirits were sent home with the prescribed ceremonies; among those so sent home were the bear, the salmon, the owl, and, in some localities, the seal, the *sirhap* and the *sisam*. The bear, the owl and the eagle were kept and killed ritually.—H.W.

[787] [2] In no rite described by Munro does an *ekashi* become possessed by a spirit. Women mediums called *tusu*, possessed by *kamui*, diagnose diseases which are then treated by the *ekashi* Chapter IX, Exorcism). Among the photographs

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776 a very large stone circle, or rather oval, which may have been
821 connected with solar worship. In most districts the sacred window
[342] is still oriented to the rising sun. Through it the *kamui* communicate
with the revered spirit of the hearth, Kamui Fuchi, who is supreme
over the Ancestral Host. Until recently no one was supposed to
[533] cross the rays of sunshine visiting the hearth. An old song, handed
down from his ancestors to the aged Rennuikesh, praises the
arrows of light of Rikoma Kamui, the God on High. In the north
[782] an *inau*, set up as an offering to the sun, bears an incised outline
[778] of its orb. In the south, on rare festival occasions, an *inau* such as
is offered only to *kamui* of the highest standing is set up to the
sun, and he is given libations and praise. A few elders still
salute the sun, but I am told that this was formerly considered
necessary.

●[825] There is some evidence that stars were associated with *kamui*; at
[796] the great festival when a bear is killed ritually the name of a star or
star group connected with the Bear constellation is given to the
spirit of the slain bear—Chinukara-guru (Visible Person). I am
told that formerly some elders were versed in star lore, but few
names have been recorded. The Milky Way is Pet Noka (River
Likeness), which corresponds to the Japanese 'River of Heaven'.
Among the sacred treasures (*ikoro*) of the Ainu are small replicas
[778] of quivers bearing representations of the sun and stars, and sometimes of the moon. These occupied a sacred position on the north
or north-east of the dwelling, and were regarded as exercising
some mysterious talismanic influence. Sometimes the heavenly
bodies were of inlaid copper foil and were called 'shining things'
(*tombe*), though they were scrupulously left unburnished lest they
lost the virtue left by 'the touch of a vanished hand', now with the
Ancestral Host.

[789] I am told by Nisukrek-guru that in the event of an untoward
happening from above, such as a landslip or heavy fall of volcanic
ash, Nochiu-pe-ran Guru (Star-descending Person) was besought
to make it cease.

771 A-e-oina Kamui, sometimes called Oina Kamui for short, must
776 be included among the high gods. Batchelor has pointed out that
*oina* refers to old lore and that the name of this deity implies a
teacher, but it is questionable whether he is right in concluding
that 'Aioina was some great person who in very ancient times acted
as instructor to these people'. There are various myths about his

# THE KAMUI

Closely associated with this deity is Kinashut Kamui, the spirit 776
chief of the snakes, whom we have just mentioned in connection 825
with Kamui Fuchi. Christian Ainu may, as Batchelor suggests,
have expressed the view that the snake is the source of all evil, but
it is not the view of the heathen Ainu. Kinashut Kamui is usually
accepted as a *pase kamui* (weighty, or important *kamui*); he is
identified by some elders with Nusa-koro Kamui, and by others
is regarded as his coadjutor or his brother. Like him he is some- [782]
times addressed as Kamui Ekashi (Sacred Ancestor), and like him [789]
he may, as protector of the village precincts, be invoked to ward
off a typhoid epidemic.[1] As we shall see later, his image in snake
form is used in various rites of exorcism.

In prayer for succour, in illness or other troubles, the first to be 776
besought is, as always, Kamui Fuchi, and the next Nusa-koro 782
Kamui. In many cases Kinashut Kamui is also besought with the
consent of his 'co-dweller'. In difficult childbirth and various
diseases Kinashut Kamui is invoked as a healing deity, and is then
addressed as Shiturupakpe Kamui Ekashi.

The meaning of the word *kinashut* is uncertain, but living snakes 776
are often referred to as Kinashut Kamui. Snakes are said to be 825
rancorous and revengeful when killed or injured, even accidentally, [774]
and their *ramat*, considered evil, is then apt to take malicious [789]
possession of people. In such cases the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui
himself is solicited to oust the intruder.

In most parts of the Hokkaido Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut [782]
Kamui share a *nusa* called the chaff-thrown (*muru-kuta*) *nusa* be- [778]
cause the husks of millet are thrown there and form a heap. The
millet, with other food, is kept in an elevated storehouse. Snakes
breed in the heap and frequent the storehouse where rats breed,
and they eat the young rats. This may have contributed to the
reluctance to kill snakes, but there are deeper causes, and belief
in their mysterious powers includes a phallic element. I have not [842]
found a belief that women are fertilized by snakes when passing
graves, but young women were cautioned not to sleep while on the
hills lest they became pregnant by a snake.

A full description of the different *inau* and their arrangement in 776
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[1] In a note on the treatment of disease, received only in 1960, Munro states
that this title: Kotan koresu, Moshiri koresu, Kamui Ekashi, 'Divine ancestor
who rears the *kotan*', is a name too sacred for ordinary use and is invoked only [552]
in prayer to Kinashut Kamui in dire necessity. A snake skin found in the granary
is regarded as a talisman.—B.Z.S.

subsidiary *kamui*, and which are invoked after prayer to Kamui Fuchi and (often) Nusa-koro Kamui. 776 [782]

Apa-sam (beside the entrance) Kamui does sentry duty on both sides of the door, keeping out evil spirits. Though not high ranking he is important, and receives offerings at certain ceremonies. This *kamui* is said to be both male and female and may be regarded as either a dual *kamui* or a pair. [782]

Outside the house, on the south and west respectively, are the seats of two *kamui* who are said to be servants of Kamui Fuchi. One is Mintara-koro (possessor of the precincts) Kamui, who guards the approaches to the house. Some Ainu of my acquaintance say that this is also a pair of *kamui*. In most areas this *kamui* still plays a part, though in the north I was told that the guarding is done only by the house dog.

The second is Ru-koro Kamui, the *kamui* of the male privy (the female privy has no *kamui*) who is also regarded by some as a pair of spirits. He is associated with ideas of expulsion and evacuation and is regarded as powerful.[1] This may be because odours keep off evil spirits; rank-smelling herbs are held to be magically effective for this purpose. [514] [789]

It may be noted that although *pase kamui* and those represented in effigy are mostly unisexual, the lower-ranking spirits, including evil spirits, are usually epicene, or dual spirits of opposite sex.

The fourth class of *kamui* are the theriomorphic *kamui*. All animals have *ramat* but not all are *kamui*. Some of the animal *kamui* are good and others bad, and there are Ainu who profess to be able to distinguish those of the same species by some difference of colour or marking. Thus, a black fox (Shitumbe Kamui) is nearly always good but has a special earmark if entirely reliable. Similarly, a red fox is usually unreliable, but certain features are reassuring. Animal *kamui* whether good or bad can take human or other forms; this is called *ish-iri katande* (putting on body shape). In the tales known as *uebekere* bears, wolves, foxes and other animals change shape and perform wonderful feats. 776 825

There are evil bears (*wen-yuk*), man-eaters, and others of wrathful disposition who attack men savagely in the wilds. They are evil

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[1] Ru-koro Kamui is invoked to exercise his powers of expulsion. The idea of the magical quality of faeces themselves, as of hair, nails and body dirt, if present at all, is not accentuated.—B.Z.S.

776 spirits in the guise of bears and are recognizable as such by their
825 footprints. But the chief spirit of the bears and the chief spirit of snakes are benevolent deities; animals are sometimes believed to be incarnations of these *pase kamui.* It is said that the wolf and fox were killed ritually in the old days, so they also may have been regarded as *kamui.*

Because birds fly above the earth and sometimes disappear mysteriously for a season they are credited with various powers, and some are held in high veneration. The eagle owl is worshipped to a greater or lesser extent in all the places I visited. At Mokoto in the north it had a distinguished position on festival occasions between the *inau* of Moshiri-kara Kamui, Maker of the World, and Wakka-ush Kamui, Spirit of the Waters. It is known from north to south as Kotan-koro Kamui, Possessor of the Village, though other names are also given to it.

Three other bird-gods are worshipped at Mokoto: the great black woodpecker who chips out and protects boats, the spotted kingfisher (Satchini Kamui) who protects fish, and the crow, known as Pashkuru Kamui. The depredations of the crow are tolerated; one reason given is that it is said to have saved the sun from being swallowed by a ferocious evil spirit by pecking the monster's tongue till it disgorged its prey. Another reason is that on one occasion when some Ainu were starving, crows guided them to a stranded whale. Formerly, the crow and some other
[796] important birds were killed ritually, as a young bear still is. I am
[182] told that the practice of killing birds ritually has not altogether died out, but I have not been able to see an example of it.

Like human beings, some birds are better disposed than others and some are essentially good. The best, Kesorap Kamui, of glorious plumage and pitying heart is mythical, and so is the worst, Huri or Furi, said to have been a huge bird which lived in a cave
[787] and devoured human beings. There are birds of good and evil omen, and birds which make it their duty to give timely warning of impending trouble. The warning is usually heard in the darkness, as is that of the black fox. If the source is unrecognized it is considered most uncanny and said to be that of Kunne-rek Guru (Voice-in-the-dark Person).

Other theriomorphic *kamui* which should be mentioned include the spider, Yooshkep Kamui, said also to be called Kamui Tunchihi and to be a divine assistant of Nusu-koro Kamui. By loose

By loose

analogy the long claw and net coming forth from the body form a 776 combination capable of instilling confidence in women during 825 ● difficult labour. And the spirit of a fresh-water crab, called Ametanne 844 Mat, whose 'metal' (hard) claws are believed able to extract the baby, is frequently invoked in childbirth after prayer to Nusakoro Kamui. Finally we may mention Hai-o-Pira Kamui, who receives *inau* and libations from many Ainu in this district. It is 776 the 'sword' of the swordfish (*pirikap*), a formidable monster up 825 to twelve feet long, the harpooning of which is one of the most exciting episodes in the marine life of the Ainu.

The fifth class, spirit helpers and personal *kamui*, includes the 776 skulls of certain *kamui* in animal form. These may be mammals, 778 birds or turtles. The skulls are smoked, cleaned and partly wrapped 825 in curled shavings (*inau kike*), which are also stuffed into the cranial cavity, eye sockets and mouth. The shavings must be cut from a fresh branch of willow, the tree of life, and Kamui Fuchi must be invoked to give efficacy to the *ramat* of the shavings. These objects are called *shiratki kamui*[1] and act as spirit protectors (*epungine kamui*). They may be hung in the house on the north wall or stored in boxes, and may be carried on a journey to give protection to the traveller. It is most important that they should not be contaminated by evil spirits. Should the householder or some elder have an [787] ominous dream which throws suspicion on a *shiratki kamui* it must be dismantled and discarded. The same precaution is taken with other artificial objects, *inau* or effigies made to retain *ramat*. The bad omen is taken as a warning from Kamui Fuchi.

For *shiratki kamui* the skull of a good fox is favoured. This is useful for augury as well as protection. The lower jaw is carefully [782] detached, Kamui Fuchi is invoked, and the skull is then placed on the head of an elder. Should it fall teeth uppermost when the head is inclined it means 'yes', otherwise 'no'. Many variants of this simple expedient are employed by Ainu. The libation and prayer [413] stick, commonly spoken of by Europeans as a moustache-lifter, is [774] full of *ramat* and is employed in the same manner.

In this district people are too much in awe of the eagle owl to use it as *shiratki kamui*, but two sea-birds, one large and the other small, both called *ibe-rusi chikap*, food-desire birds, are used. So

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[1] In the Saru Basin, which was Munro's main field, Shiratki Kamui is said to be the deity of the albatross. The fox is called Chironup Kamui or Shitumbe Kamui.—H.W.

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778 is the snipe, which is regarded as a specialist in ear complaints, and
825 the head of a turtle, though this is not easy to obtain.

*Shiratki kamui* may be seen by anyone, but there is a class of similar objects which would lose their virtue if seen by other than the elder or his grown-up eldest son if the latter be worthy. They are called *chikoshinninup* or *akoshinninup*. Most valued for this purpose were the skulls of the white fox and the ermine, the former now never, and the latter rarely, seen in Hokkaido. The skin is not removed from the head, which is folded over it. The living ermine is spoken of in old legends as the chief animal helper of man, enabling him to get food and children and warning him against enemies and hostile spirits.

778 Other treasured objects were stones admired for their beauty or some other reason. So long as no one else knew of them they could be gloated over in secret, yielding assurance of protection and success.

776 Invisible spirit helpers, operating without embodiment of any kind, go under various names but their functions are similar. *Kashikamui* and *seremak* are believed to bestow health and good luck generally. *Kasanip*, believed to hover round the top and back of the head, functions somewhat similarly to spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a common belief that a man has a female and a woman a male *kasanip*.[1] Some elders think that *kasanip* are not entirely reliable, and the same applies to *osoyunbe*, who may be helpful or harmful.

[775] Several elders have assured me that at death the good *turenbe*
accompanies the soul to the ancestral land, while the bad returns
[774] to its source, but this seems to be a matter of opinion.

Among occasional helpers are the water nymphs (*mintuchi*). They are unreliable and occasionally dangerous, but are sometimes amenable to orders from *pase kamui*, transmitted through elders and backed by suitable rewards. There are also spirits of trees which, as agents of Shiramba Kamui, are besought for the cure of disease.

776 It is said that some elders were able in moments of peril to
summon spirits not quite so innocent, using what is called *upash-*
789 *kuma itak*, talk from traditional lore. This had the force of a spell,
and though it is denied that it was the same as the 'little talk' of

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[1] Cf. the theory of the Anima and Animus, Jung, *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*, Part II, Chapter II, 1928.—B.Z.S.

## THE KAMUI

776 825 In the eighth class I have included certain things of unutterable horror, and of these the most noteworthy is the harmless caterpillar known as *ashtoma ikombap*. *Ashtoma* means dread, and though I cannot say that all Ainu regard it with fear and repulsion, it is widely regarded as the materialization of Moshiri-Shinnai-sam, 'world-abnormal-alongside', implying intruding aliens in Ainu-land, and arouses uncanny dread and detestation. There is no fear of caterpillars in general, and it seems possible that the Ainu have [186] come to symbolize in this caterpillar their fear and hatred of the Japanese, by whom they were so long oppressed and treated with contempt. The Japanese are still called Shisam and Shamo or Samo, names apparently connected with Shinnai-sam.[1] It is not only the old people who feel this repulsion for the dreaded caterpillar; young and educated Ainu have told me that the sight of it causes an involuntary shiver—a feeling doubtless inculcated in childhood by the behaviour of their elders. In spite of this, I have never come across any Ainu who feared evil possession (*wen turenbe*) by *ashtoma ikombap*.

539 776 824 NOTE.—The following Ainu folk tale, translated by Mr Watanabe from Chiri's *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. I, p. 201, may be included in this chapter, as it gives some idea of the Ainu attitude to vegetation and the spirit world.—(B.Z.S.)

'You there, the chief of Ruashipet, listen to what I say. We are neither human beings nor evil deities. I remind you, I am the head of *trep* (plant) and here is the head of *pukusa* (wild garlic). In ancient times, when the deity of creation created the world, he prepared nuts, leaves, roots and the like, all over fields and hills on the surface of the world, in order to let the Ainu eat them. Nevertheless, they do not know that most of them are edible. Above all, *pukusa* and *trep* ought to be the core of human food—but no one collects them. Every year they blossom in vain and disappear on the fields and hills of the human world: but (I remind you) their souls, though crying, do go back to the land of *kamui*. I am sad that they return to earth in vain, and ardently wish to tell the Ainu that both *pukusa* and *trep* are edible things, wishing we may be worshipped as deities on that account, so that we may be eaten. I came here from the east to the Ainu country, bringing the chief of *pukusa*, while disguising ourselves as Ainu women. But human beings are so

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[1] See *infra*, Chapter IX, p. 108.

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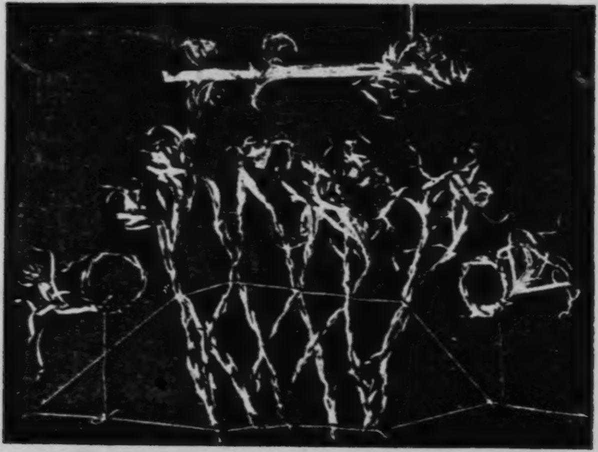

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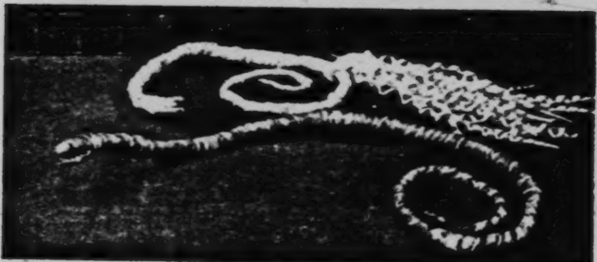

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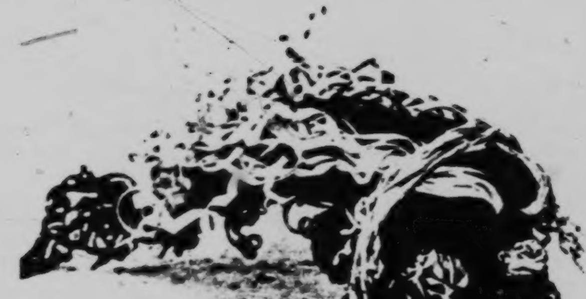

Fig. 1. Coat and earrings for the young bear at its festival, and above, *ok-meme-in* to thrust behind the windpipe during skinning.

Fig. 2. Images (*moka*) of snakes: that made of curled shavings used in exorism; the other, made of grass, used for protection against illness.

Fig. 3. Head of a turtle blackened with age, with fresh shavings attached as a protection against misfortune.

PLATE IV. CURLED SHAVINGS.

[p. 30, (i)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963

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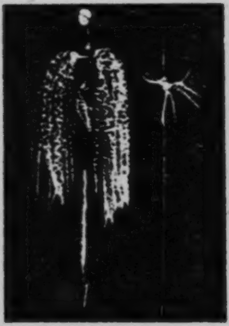

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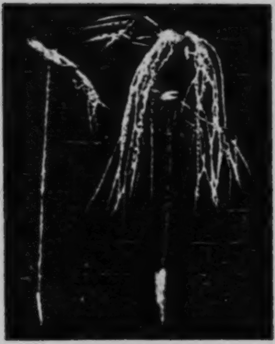

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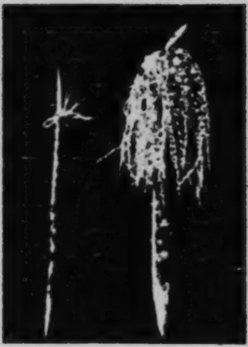

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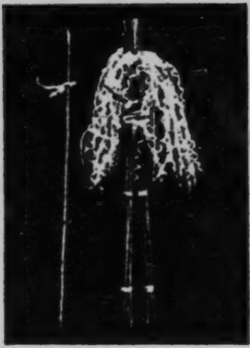

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Fig. 1. The body of Chisei-koro Kamui. The heart is tied on with shavings: the flattened side of the body represents the abdomen. Fig. 2. Chisei-koro Kamui, fully dressed, with his spear. Fig. 3. Shutu *inau* Kamui for three brothers who protect vigour and welfare. Fig. 4. Chikube-ni Kamui with spear, protector of the young bear until the time of its ritual dismissal. Fig. 5. Soko-ni Fuchi with spear, for help in difficult childbirth. Fig. 6. Ai-ush-ni Kamui. Fig. 7. Imosh Kamui, made by Uesanash Ekashi.

PLATE VII. EFFIGIES.

[p. 30,(G)]

and are therefore referred to in this book as winged *inau*.[1] They 824
are mobilized for grave emergencies, such as the outbreak of an 778
epidemic. With a few exceptions they are bevelled at the top to 782
represent a face, which is provided with a slit for a mouth. For [532]
good spirits this slants across the face at an angle which facilitates [184]
the insertion of a single curled shaving (Pl. II, fig. 1). In the south good winged *inau* have nine wings and in the north six or occasionally seven.

There are two sizes of winged *inau*, small (*pon*) and thick (*[illegible]uwe*). 778
The former are most often employed, being set up for four important 782
*kamui* mentioned in the last chapter, Nusa-koro, Shiramba, Hash-inau-uk and Wakka-ush *Kamui*. Four are allotted to each, 776
together with other *inau* of less constant significance. The thick winged *inau* differ only in the thickness of the stem from the foregoing. When the sacred brew was made, one was set up for Shiramba Kamui at the soul *nusa*, together with four of the small ones. Four were set up at the place reserved for the ancestral spirits of the bear. The bear is known as Kim-un Kamui, the God in the [825]
Mountains, but in this ceremony is addressed as Metot-ush Kamui, [796]
the God Dwelling in Mountain Ranges.[2] At the great Bear Festival,

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[1] The translation of *shutu* is uncertain. Munro states that it means ancestor, root or foundation, and this is confirmed by Arthur Waley. Batchelor translates it as war-club, and Mr Watanabe gives the same meaning. But the *shutu inau* are not shaped as war-clubs, and Munro says that the Ainu do not associate them with war-clubs. Some *shutu inau* are associated with the ancestors. Because the *shutu inau* have wings (*rap*) they have been called winged *inau* in this book. The difference between *shutu inau* and *shutu inau kamui* is not quite clear. In this chapter Munro refers to Chisei-Koro Kamui as a *shutu inau* but later (Chapter IV) this figure is described as the most important of all the 'hand-made *kamui*' (*teh-e-kara*). Except Chisei-koro Kamui all *shutu inau kamui* also have wings. In old tradition he is said to rank with Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui. His high position is borne out by his importance in the rites to be described later. It is quite possible the Ainu themselves were vague about these categories of *inau* although their names, method of construction, functions and ritual use may have been quite clear to all practising elders. [114]

The *inau*, whether winged or not, are offerings to the *kamui*. In the rituals described, the *shutu inau kamui* themselves receive prayers, libations and ritual dismissal with *inau*, hence they are treated as *kamui*, not as *inau*. It should be noted that Munro states that Chisei-koro Kamui represents Shiramba Kamui in the house. So it would not be strange if sometimes he is regarded as a *shutu inau* given to Shiramba Kamui and sometimes as an auxiliary *kamui* in his own right, even as a *pase kamui* in some districts, as Munro states (see Chapter VI).—B.Z.S. [776]

[2] Kim-un Kamui is the spirit of an individual bear, and every bear was believed to be Kim-un Kamui materialized in the form of skin and meat to be

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782 which includes the ritual killing called 'ritual dismissal' (Kamui
776 Iomande), after the ceremonial slaying of the young bear there are,
● [825] in addition to the four *inau* mentioned, four variants of the same
[796] offered in the Nibutani district, and the skull is (or was) permanently stuck up. Two of the *inau* differ in that they are adorned with evergreen bamboo grass, or twigs of a species of fir (*Abies Sachalinensis*, Ainu, *hup-ni*, Pl. II, fig. 2), Shirikura inau. The other two, similarly decorated, have a special *inau* fixed to the top.

778 An interesting object, known as the *inumba* (beer-straining) *inau*
782 is seen in Pl. II, fig. 3. There are the usual nine wings but instead
[824] of a bevelled face there is a cup-like cavity in the top. It is made of willow.

*Wen* (evil) *inau*, so called because their task is to repel or expel
778 evil spirits responsible for sickness or ill luck, are also called *nitue*
789 (hard) *inau*, because they deal with *nitue kamui*, each of whom is
[532] regarded as a 'hard case'. They are of *shutu* form but shorter, about eight inches high, and have a vertical slit for a mouth, no cloak of
[791] curled shavings and only four wings. They are grouped in multiples of three, the Ainu 'perfect number'. When a female medium (*tusu*)
[801] has diagnosed an evil spirit as responsible for a severe illness, eighteen of them are employed. Plate II, fig. 4, shows a group with a taller one as chief (*sepane guru*). Here he has a flat head like some effigies of *kamui*, and a headdress and belt of curled shavings. Some elders provide him with a sword, and he may have a face or merely a black rag tied round the head.

778 The trees from which the *inau* for evil spirits are made are
789 credited with special magical power. One is the thorn or arrow-bearing tree, *Acanthopanax ricinifolium*[1] (*ai-ush-ni*). Those most
824 commonly used are the elder, and alder, the species being the Sambucus latipinna (*soko-ni*) and Alnus hirsuta (*kene-ni*). The Ainu used to regard them as natural enemies of evil spirits. The elder is sometimes called in prayer Moshiri Kiyanne Kamui, Spirit Elder of the World.

778 In this connection the use by Japanese farmers of an *inau* made
789 from elder is worthy of note. Plate II, fig. 8, comes from a village somewhere between Tokyo and Yokohama where in the first decade
171 of this century I did some archaeological excavations. Farmers

given to the Ainu. Metot-ush Kamui was believed to be a deity who lived at the top of a high mountain and was the head of all Kim-un Kamui.—H.W.

[1] See footnote, p. 30.

horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook 778
(*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value. 789

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a
festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden [796]
pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*)
the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might [796]
attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a [301]
coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations in-
volving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the [396]
same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are
regarded as potent amulets for personal protection.

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing
the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult [301]
labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms [755]
the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. [845]
It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under [844]
the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was ad-
ministering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged
parturition.

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to [513]
retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during
sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled [774]
shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of
grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled
shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put [411]
on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first
wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state
it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to [278]
women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide [762]
by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the [776]
spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted
device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation [787]
wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round [825]
the victim's head. [755]

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said 771
about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, 532
there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani 212
neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised
on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual [796]
dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male [776]

*inau kamui* credited with an effective odour is made of the bird 778
cherry (*kikin-ni*) and is called Nursing (Ikaluye) Kamui. It is still 776
sometimes employed in fevers and is placed by the bedside while 532
an infusion of the bark is administered to the patient. [824]

Plate VII, fig. 4, shows Chikube-ni Kamui. He is of lighter make [757]
than most others because he is used to drive away evil spirits from [796]
the young bear in its last 'running round' before its ceremonial
death. He is also attached to the cage of a bear cub which is being [825]
reared for the ceremony. He is carried round an intended house-
site in a rite of purification performed when evil spirits are believed 778
to lurk there. Among other of his tasks the most socially important 776
is defence of the village against spirits bringing epidemic disease. 532
Then he is called Kotan-Kikikara Kamui, but this name is also 751
given to Kinashut Kamui, whose effigy of curled shaving (Pl. IV,
fig. 2) is even more potent. Either may be installed a short distance
from the village at each end and where a road enters. But the *shutu*
*inau kamui* is said locally to be more for general protection or for [164]
such milder diseases as measles, whooping cough or influenza; for
smallpox or a severe epidemic of typhoid Kinashut Kamui is
invoked. However, neither of them is invoked once a severe epi-
demic has broken out in the village.

The bodies of several *shutu inau kamui* are made of elder. One
of them, Soko-ni Fuchi (Pl. VII, fig. 5) is invoked in difficult 778
childbirth to aid Uari Kamui, deputy of Kamui Fuchi, should one 776
of willow be insufficient. 532

Another *shutu inau kamui* is Ramat-tak Kamui, so called because [824]
it can bring back the *ramat* which has wandered too far from a per- 776
son's body. It is rarely used but is invoked when a patient is un-
conscious from a sudden seizure and is thought to be virtually 778
dead. The elder-tree body of this *kamui* is formed like that of other 755
*shutu inau kamui*, with one difference: the heart is taken not from 532
the hearth but from the earthen floor, a pinch from each side of the
entrance, where the posts of the two Apa-sam Kamui guard the [824]
house from intrusion by evil spirits.

The body (*netoba*), without curled shavings, is made near the
hearth after prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with a backward-shaven *inau* 782
standing in the ashes, and is then erected on the hearth, at the end
facing the doorway. Next, a fairly long prayer is made to the *kamui*
on the left of the doorway (the right on entering) in which the
petitioner is called 'grandchild', as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi. In

778 anthropomorphic or theriomorphic *kamui*. It is not the bear as
823 such which receives adoration at festivals, but its Ancestral Host
[769] or primeval ancestors as mountain deities vaguely identified with
'the strength of the hills'.[1] I am told that hills not specially reserved for *kamui* worshipped at the *pase ongami* are mostly revered as the home of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.

Worship of rocks and standing stones is not very common. A rock near Nibutani faintly resembling a bear used to receive attention. In the north, at a place near Lake Kutcharo called Oya-kot, there is a standing stone which is said to be a monument or image of Moshiri-kara Kamui. He is supposed to have left it with some of his *ramat* on retiring after the creation of the world. It is highly venerated and probably worshipped. Batchelor[2] mentions a natural stone at Usu on the south-west coast, which appears to have been worshipped, and tells of boulders in rivers, which were believed to harbour kelpies and were said to have been charged with the destruction of an enemy while crossing the river.

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[1] According to the Ainu the bear itself is a mountain deity which brings skin
[776] and flesh to be given to them. The deity would be pleased to be caught by a
[825] good-tempered hunter and visit his house, bringing its precious gifts. For the hunter, the visit of a mountain deity should be an occasion of great honour. In return for the skin and flesh he would offer entertainment to the visitor and send him back to his home country with great ceremony. In the deity's home-country, it is believed, his relatives and their chief live, and they would welcome the deity with precious souvenirs given him by the Ainu. The chief deity would command his subordinate to visit such a good Ainu again.—H.W.

[2] *The Ainu and their Folklore*, London, 1901, pp. 399–400.

## HEARTH AND HOME

514 Mention must be made of two important structures outside the
house—the privy and the storehouse. The Ainu did not use the
[241] privy as a source of fertilizer for the crops. Batchelor says he was
[776] told that it would be an impertinence to the *kamui* of vegetation to
offer them help in this way. Nowadays men's and women's privies
[688] are usually together, with a flimsy partition or none, but formerly, I
was told, the distance between the two privies was not less than
twenty feet, the women's being further from the house than the
[771] men's. Religion prescribed separate privies, less for the avoidance
[783] of indecency than from a fear that the contagion of menstruation
[841] and pregnancy might interfere with Ru-koro Kamui's vigour in
[843] repelling and expelling evil spirits.

Storehouses (*pu*) were always raised on posts four to five feet
343 high. The chief object was protection from rats and mice. Bears
•825 could smash them easily, but their attempts were often put to
flight or kept at bay by the dogs. The rat was the worst enemy,
often finding its way in to devour millet or other food. Snakes also
entered, ate the young rats and drove away or even killed the
big ones.

The snake was a minor *kinashut kamui*, and as protector of
[462] provisions was known either as Haru[1] (provisions) *Kamui* or *Pu-Epungine* (store-protecting) Kamui. The women have charge of
the storehouse; their respect for the snakes is mingled with
fear.

231 Today one rarely sees a bear cub kept in a cage, either in the
shed or outside, but in the days when the great Bear Festival was
held it was a common sight. The only animals now kept are a dog
or two in the shed.

776 The last spirit occupant of the house to be noted is Kenru
[192] Katkimat, a female house-spirit not to be confused with the real
housewife, who is known as Chisei-koro Katkimat (house-possessing
wife). Katkimat means literally ability-to-do-woman, and is a title
of respect. *Mat* is the ordinary word for woman or wife, and is also
applied to a few female spirits, both good and bad. Kenru Katkimat
[778] is rather hazily supposed to pervade the house. By some Ainu she
is thought to be embodied in or represented by the *chisei-koro*

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[192] [1] *Haru* means food brought and given by *kamui*. Bear meat was called *kamui haru*, fish *chep haru* and edible plants *toi haru*. Bear meat was consumed only
[262] under the control of the householder, and he served bear meat to guests. Formerly each family seems to have had one storehouse for meat and another for fish.—H.W.

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Formerly the housewife was given the same kind of twisted shavings, also 769
dipped in the beer, but this is not often done today. 574

All departing guests perform the ritual salutation. Those who
remain form a small double row at the head of the hearth, like that 769
before the ceremony began. The beer-container from the head of 535
the hearth, still holding a little beer, is replaced on the sacred mat. 574
It is then customary for those of the women who have remained at 796
the lower end of the room to perform a farewell dance. This is traditionally the last dance at all festivals. It is called *hararaki*, or doing *harara*, because it is always accompanied by the sound rr-rr-rr, which represents the whirr of birds taking to flight. The dance is mimetic. Each performer, holding the ends of her sleeves between her fingers and palms, imitates the flapping of wings, swaying her body so as to move her outstretched arms alternately up and down. It is obviously intended to represent a flock of birds; what birds? Some whom I have questioned recognize imitation of birds without curiosity as to their kind. It seemed to me possible, however, that it represented the departure of the souls in the guise of birds at the end of the feast, and when I mentioned this to Nisukrekguru and asked him to recall any bird which rose to flight in
this manner, he suggested wild geese. He also recalled instances [825]
in the old legends of souls taking the form of birds after death.
This was in answer to a question but, though leading questions must be used discreetly if at all, the instances immediately cited were quite convincing. I should add that at festivals this dance is performed only at the end, though it is sometimes danced for amusement at other times. At the Bear Festival, however, the elders dance the *tapkara* as a farewell to the departing spirit of the bear.

When the large beer-container is empty it is removed to the 574
north-east corner; the last backward-shaven *inau* is burnt, and the 769
sacred mats are deposited near the wall on the north. There, too, [778]
the *chisei-koro inau* comes to its final resting place, being stuck high
up in the thatch of the wall.

A few friends cluster round the hearth listening to tales of olden 574
times. There are still some Ainu who are fairly conversant with the 538
sagas and legends, and whose recitations, with emphatic taps on
the hearth-frame, invite eager attention. Engrossed in tales of the 769
past, they fail to notice the passage of time. I have called at five o'clock on a December morning, and several times later, to find a

committed suicide or have been murdered or who have died in 775
great agony are said to avoid the Underworld and to wander restlessly, 753
seeking revenge. Dead persons or their disembodied spirits
are referred to as *rai guru*, even when considered to be wandering
ghosts (*tukap*). In this neighbourhood opinions are divided on the
question whether the spirits of the dead are themselves responsible
for epidemics or whether they merely accompany the spirits of
disease (*pakoro kamui*). People are reluctant to speak evil of the
dead, and even when they are held responsible it is said that they
mean no harm but cannot help transmitting the disease from which
they have died.

Paralysis, especially the hysterical paralyses of women, are attributed [158]
to possession either by disembodied spirits or by revengeful
snakes which have been killed accidentally—no Ainu would kill [776]
them purposely. When the trouble is due to the spirits of the dead [825]
the patient (*arakare*) usually dreams of the dead: when due to
snakes she dreams of snakes, and the dream may have sexual significance. [787]
Paralysis due to apoplexy is not explicitly regarded as the
work of disembodied spirits but the method of exorcism is identical.
There are three ordinary *uepotara* performed by Isonoash Ekashi 755
for possession by disembodied spirits, and one held in reserve in
case of failure. There is the river purification, the tree (*chikuni*)
purification, and another in the house yard. The first is similar to
that for Pauchi Kamui but differs from it in that there is no purification
by fire, no 'houses of evil'. The prayer to Kamui Fuchi is [782]
couched in milder terms; she is asked to quieten the disturbed
spirit so that it may have a united mind or heart (*uko ram koro*)
with good *kamui*.

There is also preparation for a curious rite to be performed when 755
the patient has returned from the river. It is intended to entice, as
much as to expel, the spirit. To this end some stalks of millet with 782
the unthreshed grain attached are laid on the ashes at the lower
end of the hearth before the prayer to Kamui Fuchi, whose attention
is called to the 'evil provisions' (*wen haru*, literally 'bad
vegetables'). Again it should be noted that the food is not bad in
itself; like the evil *inau*, it is a means of getting rid of an infliction.
Should there be no millet in the stalk, fishbones may be substituted.
After the prayer these are laid beside the backward-shaven *inau*
dedicated to the *kamui* of the privy to await the patient's return
from the river.

sound. When the patient arrives at the backward-shaven *inau* of 755
Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle is drawn downwards from both 783
shoulders six times by the two women, as is done in the Kamui 778
Puchi purification.

Lastly, the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, and purification is again performed, as in the case of Pauchi Kamui, either bamboo grass or mugwort being used. The rite performed before entering the house and that of airing the outer garment are as described previously. The evil *inau*, which were pulled up during the ritual, are placed behind the privy, and, as their function is ended, the rag of black cloth which distinguished the leader is removed. With them are deposited the switches used in brushing away evil.

In cases of hysterical neuroses the types of *uepotara* just described 755
are often successful, but should they fail, incision is sometimes re- 752
sorted to. Slight incisions are made, little more than scratches, with
the sharpened point of a sickle. These may be on the abdomen or [158]
over the affected part. They are said to let out 'bad blood', and are stroked over with the *wen haru*. Isonoash says that the bleeding affords a means of exit for the disembodied spirit or its evil influence. There are slight differences in the prayers, and the six sets of evil *inau* are arranged not in a single line but in a double line of three sets on each side. Between these the patient is treated by
purification, as described in the last ceremony. In both these [783]
exorcisms a thorny switch of *Rubus crataegi-folius* (*fure ai-ush ni*)
is sometimes used, but is laid on lightly. The remaining operations do not differ from those of the *uepotara* previously described.

When the illness is due to possession by a red fox or a badger, 755 [787]
a *nusa* is set up at the third tree for Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and the [825]
elder prays there also.

It has already been said that all serious diseases are believed to [753]
be due to evil spirits. In former times there were Ainu who were [754]
believed to cause sickness and even death by casting spells or by other magical expedients. I regret that I have not visited some places where one or two such people are said to be still living. But in no case known to me has sickness been attributed to black magic; exorcism is always directed against spirits of some sort.

Epilepsy was formerly treated with severe measures, by purifica- 158
tion by means of fire and by immersion in a river till the patient 755
was unconscious or nearly so, but I am told that this is no longer [178]
practised,

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755 [753] practised. Spitting blood has long been recognized as associated
with consumption (*satpe tashum*, withering sickness) and is treated
as a visitation by evil spirits. One kind of exorcism, performed at
the river, is similar to that described for Pauchi Kamui, except
that in place of six burning arches there are six tiny boats made of
*kuttara*, and at each purification at the *inau* the patient spits into
one of the boats; a small stone is placed in it and it is then set
[824] afloat in the river. At the tree *uepotara* for the same disease six
pieces of bark are taken from the third tree and at each circumambulation of the tree sputum is coughed or spat on to one of the
pieces, all of which are buried at the foot of the tree.

753 Various afflictions attributed to possession by hostile animals are
755 treated by similar methods. Eye troubles, severe headaches, neu-
●825 ralgias, functional paralyses and joint affections are often thought
158 to be caused by them. I have personally investigated eleven cases
of such afflictions which had been cured or greatly relieved by magico-religious operations performed by various elders. An important feature is that there is not only exorcism but the replacement of the hostile spirit by the helpful Kinashut Kamui. When one of these suffering women recalls having seen a snake alive or dead, or dreams of snakes, she is convinced that the cause of her trouble is possession by a cantankerous snake spirit. Ainu women know that Kinashut Kamui, spirit chief of the snake tribe, can control and expel errant members of his kind, and that in the condition known as *imu* he supplants the evil-doer.[1] The condition is characterized by emotional outbursts, by the immediate imitation of sounds and actions, and by a tendency to say or do the opposite of anything asserted or requested by another person. This reversion to infantile mentality is quite transitory. Appearing when the woman is startled, or frightened by some reference to a snake or to the caterpillar *ashtoma ikombap*, it usually ends with a smile and a hand placed over the lips. Otherwise the woman is a normal
[522] housewife and mother and not less intelligent than other women.
On the whole, the *imu* state is a source of amusement rather than
otherwise, and it may be that some women vie with others in posing
[782] as *imu*. For treatment of *imu* the elder makes an image of a snake
out of curled shavings and, after appealing to Kamui Fuchi, in-
[778] vokes into it the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui at the chaff-thrown
*nusa*. He places it round the neck of the patient and brings down

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[1] See Appendix, pp. 161, 2, 3.

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the tail to sweep her body and purify it.[1] (See Pl. XXI, fig. 3.) 755
It would seem that the rite has a genuinely cathartic effect, and I 825
learnt from various elders that improvement usually took place 158
after a few days or even a few hours. A sick woman may ask the [778]
elder for *tusu* rather than for *imu* treatment. In the *tusu* state the
patient becomes possessed by the snake spirit of Kinashut Kamui. [787]
The elder consults the *kamui* before acceding to this request, and [791]
if the *kamui* approves the woman may become a medium (*tusu*).[2]

There is yet another means of curing the ailments attributed to possession by snakes, whereby a woman becomes a helper or nurse (*ikoinkara guru*), and thereby both relieves a complex and gains esteem. I am told that only women of specially good character are eligible; they become midwives, and though untrained are a great help to women in labour. The ceremonies are much like those of *imu* conversion.

There is one more exorcism, and this is interesting on account 755
not only of the means employed but of the remarkable nature of 776
the *kamui* concerned, which is a hornet. While the ordinary wasp is 825
thought to be vicious and quick to sting, the hornet (*shisoya*) is said
to be tolerant, never stinging unless provoked, but terrible when
its wrath is aroused. Even horses and bears which have disturbed
a nest are said to have been killed. Yet it is believed to be lucky to [777]
have a nest in the house, and that the inmates are never stung.

In this district and others in the south the hornet shares, though
in much lesser degree, the repute of Kinashut Kamui as a spirit
helper, but sometimes its *ramat*, indignant at being assaulted and
losing its body, takes possession of somebody and causes sickness. [753]
This is said to be cured readily, for the hornet is amenable to the
proper mode of exorcism. The following is an outline of its peculiar
features, it being understood that, as in all these rituals, the
approval of the important *kamui* must first be sought.

A backward-shaven *inau* is set up at the chaff-thrown *nusa*, then [778]
a model of a hornet's nest, called *shisoya chisei*, is made of sacred
shavings with two curled shavings attached, and this is hung on
the *inau* to absorb virtue. After this, switches for purification are [783]
made of curled shavings, and lastly some grain, rice or millet is
laid at the *nusa* ready for use. I was told that the grain is a token

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[1] For other forms of sickness and in the case of epidemics the snake effigy is woven from grass and its tail is used as a brush for purification.—N.G.M.

[2] See Appendix, p. 163.

776 of the solicitude of Kamui Fuchi. The two officiating women have
825 a bracelet of curled shavings on each arm; these are also worn in
[778] other exorcisms.

The ceremony begins with a long prayer, in which flattering
755 allusions are made to the brave hornet, but Nusa-koro Kamui is
782 asked to persuade it to cease tormenting the patient. The hope is
825 expressed that the hornet *kamui* may become of one heart and
mind with Nusa-koro Kamui. A proper home has been provided
for him and he should be asked to stay there. A backward-shaven
*inau* is also offered to Shiramba Kamui at his soul *nusa*, but no
prayer is said to him. The women each take a small quantity of
the grain in each hand and gently stroke each side of the patient
from the shoulder down. This is done three times, the grain which
the women retain in their hands being deposited at the *nusa* after
each stroking. Then follows purification with the switches of curled
shavings, repeated three times by each woman. The nest is now
passed six times round the patient's neck to entice the hornet
spirit to enter it; it is then hung up again at the *nusa* and Nusa-
[783] koro Kamui is thanked for his help and hospitality. On returning
home the patient is purified in the usual way; she also washes her
hands and head. In the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui the officiants
did this also, but now they do not.

787 Some women claim to be possessed by the spirit of a hornet;
825 they are converted sufferers from functional ailments. One re-
776 spected medium in Nibutani is proud of her hornet guide. Kotan-
pira Ekashi told me that there is an old belief in benign as well as
harmful possession by the hornet *kamui*.

755 In this district Kinashut Kamui is called upon at the chaff-
776 thrown *nusa* to protect the community from evil or mischievous
782 spirits. In this capacity he is, like Nusa-koro Kamui, addressed as
spirit guardian of the village (Kotan-epungine Kamui). Twice
when typhoid was raging in neighbouring villages he was invoked
and his effigy was placed in the highway approaching the village;
this proceeding was considered highly efficacious. His image in
snake form, made not from curled shavings, as described above,
but from grass, is still used for the treatment and prevention of
disease in the house and to protect women in childbirth. As pro-
tector of the granary, where snakes kill the rats, he is known as
755 Pu-epungine Kamui.

844 I have examined about twenty kinds of magic to protect women

in childbirth, and there are doubtless more. The following typical 755
methods are practised. A second fire is made at the lower end of 844
the hearth, and there Uari Kamui takes charge on behalf of Kamui [354]
Fuchi, for the purity of the latter must not be sullied, however
deep her concern. The 'important' *kamui* are invoked and sup- [782]
plicated, especially Wakka-ush Kamui. Should there be any sign
of difficulty Kinashut Kamui is summoned and then the mortar
with its pestle is requisitioned. Having been washed and ritually
purified at the seat of Ru-koro Kamui it is tilted to and fro so that
it moves into the house, all the time being rhythmically beaten
with the pestle. This rhythm is continued by the side of the patient
and the pestle is waved above her head and over her body to drive
away evil spirits. As the hours pass without bringing relief, the
remedies become more desperate. One is to summon the spirit of [825]
a fresh-water crab and to urge it to save the mother's life by
extracting the baby with its 'metal' claws, even if the baby has to
die. The last resource is to give her the urine of her husband to [237]
drink or some diluted excrement from the privy. The elder who
prepares it must taste it first. It makes her vomit and so ejects the
evil spirit.

# X

# VARIOUS RITES

## *Hunting*

789
224 BEFORE the Japanese administration, hunting and fishing
226 were the main Ainu occupations, and even now protection
and success must be sought by prayers to Kamui Fuchi and
[782] the three other *'pase' kamui*, Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui
and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, before starting on any hunting or fishing
[825] expedition. It was formerly the custom, while hunting, to carry one
of the skulls stuffed with curled shavings known as *shiratki kamui*,
often that of a 'good' fox. They were thought to render the hunter
invisible to evil spirits taking the form of wicked bears (*wen-yuk*).
[774] The *ramat* in the skull was supposed to see well and to throw dust
in the eyes of evil spirits or in some other way to blind them
temporarily.

411 The quiver for the poisoned arrows was believed to embody
789 considerable *ramat*. Hunters used to carry a stick resembling a
774 libation wand with an ancestral mark incised on it. This was a
224 means of identifying the owner and betokened that he was under
[422] the protection of the ancestral spirits. It was said that this stick
[211] was often strapped to the hunting bag, in which case a bear tally
stick (*iso-pishka-ni*), with a notch for each bear killed, was tied to
the quiver.

825 If a hunter without a spear was threatened by a wicked bear, as
782 distinguished from a genuine mountain deity willing to provide
224 meat, he would embrace a tree and implore Shiramba Kamui to
save him. Living elders say that this was effectual and that a thank-

825
offering of *inau* was made. If a hunter was startled he would set 224
up a *shutu inau kamui* and pray to it for aid. [782]

Another plan for dealing with wicked bears was for the hunter to prevent them from tracking him by obliterating his footprints. When a hunter came across the footprints of what by their appearance he judged to be a wicked bear, he turned them while an elder pronounced a spell. This was called *iyokot-itak*, follow-up talk. Exact formulas have not been divulged, but it is confidently asserted that the bear would lose its wits, wander aimlessly about and fall an easy prey. The reversal of its footprints would upset its calculations, and the spell would follow up the deed as aconite poison does on the fatal arrow. 825 224 789 198

True-lore talk (*shi-upashkuma itak*), also useful in an emergency, was somewhat different. This was handed down in the paternal line and communicated to a son only after he had proved himself worthy of esoteric knowledge. It is said to have differed from little talk (*pon-itak*), perhaps in being more secret. But while the spirits adjured in *pon-itak* were essentially evil, those addressed by respectable elders in true-lore talk were said to be merely mischievous. When I ventured the opinion that the distinction seemed slight, I was told that the true-lore talk could be taught at home in the presence of Kamui Fuchi, who naturally abhors evil spirits. To utter *pon-itak* in her presence would be an act of sacrilege, certain to be followed by condign punishment. [611] [688]

A few elders are said to have used *pon-itak* in certain hunting emergencies, and a very few were notorious for its evil employment.[1] Such sorcerers however, while greatly feared, were regarded as having, in Christian parlance, sold themselves to the Devil. Success in anti-social activities was supposed to be punished by misfortunes including blindness, sterility and family deaths, the line of the offender being doomed to perish. Even in the chase, where black magic (*kunne mawe*) was not used by hunters, *pon-itak* as a means of bewitching bears was usually a last resort. It was a thing of dread, the mere knowledge of which was offensive to the *pase kamui* and therefore liable to have fateful consequences.

It was commonly said that an evil spirit dwelling in a marsh 776
sometimes assumed the appearance of the hunter's spirit guardian 224

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[1] Munro made a special journey to Mukawa to see a sorcerer. This sorcerer had no evil power himself but employed evil spirits, and to protect himself against them carried a bone which was used by his great-grandfather.—B.Z.S. [754]

## VARIOUS RITES

776 Hash-inau-uk Kamui. Apparitions of both are mentioned in
224 legends, the deceptive one concealing her face with hanging tresses.
She was known as Kenash (or Nitat) Unarabe, 'swamp aunt'.
Though rarely seen she was held responsible for deluding the
hunter. Just when he felt sure that his arrow had struck the game,
the quarry vanished or escaped unwounded. She was also a vampire,
craving for blood and sucking it from wounded men or from
hunters sleeping in the wilds. Yet on that very account she was,
[782] strange to say, occasionally invoked, under a flattering title, for an
[845] exceptionally difficult childbirth. The invocation was slyly called
true-lore talk, and she was supposed to be summoned with the
[755] approval of the good *kamui* to perform a task of ritual impurity,
the inducement being a swig of blood.

825 Hunters drank the blood of the bear whether it was slain in
272 hunting or at the Bear Festival, regarding it as divine medicine
(*kamui kusuri*) and drinking it for its mysterious efficacy.

825 I have been present when fifty or more Ainu have celebrated a
796 *kamui maratto*, the feast for bears killed in the wilds. The bear's
head occupied a place of honour near the sacred window with
782 offerings of food and drink similar to those of the great Bear
Festival, and the proceedings were much the same though less
elaborate. The spirit was given a similar send-off and the skull
was erected at the *inau chiba* like that of the young bear killed
ritually.

784
263 Hunters observed a taboo on the word *shippo* (salt); if salt was
192 referred to it was called *una* (ashes).

### 226 *Hunting the Swordfish*

The pursuit of the great swordfish (*shirikap*), called hunting and
not fishing, still draws some Ainu far out to sea. When I saw it
early in the century it excited great enthusiasm, with rivalry between
[477] the crews of the dug-out canoes. It was not without danger,
for the mighty fish often attacked, sometimes driving its sword
through a boat or otherwise overturning it. In such a case the
crew knocked on the boat as a signal for help from the other
hunters, who were usually not far off.

226 As it is a risky venture, religion and magic enter largely into the
782 preparations for it. Prayers are said to Kamui Fuchi, to Rep-un
789 Kamui, chief deity of the deep sea, and a curious one to Penup

## VARIOUS RITES

Until work on the canoe was finished it was merely called a log 396
(*saman-ni*) to avoid attention from evil spirits. When it was ready 782
to be transported to the river, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui were thanked and asked for further help. Two bunches of curled shavings were placed at the prow and two more at the stern.
Formerly a backward-shaven *inau* and sometimes four small-winged [778]
*inau* were set up on the river bank. After launching, another prayer is said to Wakka-ush Kamui, who is, as we have seen, the deity of water. In these prayers to the Kamui of wood and water, the Ainu claim to be their grandchildren (*mitpo*).

### *The Bull-roarer*

At Shiraoi in 1916 I saw a magical device which produced a boom- 534
ing sound and so may be called a bull-roarer. It looked like a 789
spatula (*attush-para*) and was used to obtain a favourable wind for
hunting deer. Some years ago in Northern Yezo I found a similar [821]
object called *rera-suyep* (wind-raiser). When I mentioned this to [224]
the aged Tekatte Fuchi she immediately imitated the swing of the arm and produced the sound of a bull-roarer. She remembered that in her childhood children were not allowed to swing a spatula lest by so doing they raised a storm. It was also said to arrest an epidemic. Landor (*Alone with the Hairy Ainu*, p. 288) describes flattened blocks of wood, elliptical at both ends, and from four to
fifteen inches long. Some of them had carved designs, mostly [531]
circles. I have collected a number of specimens but none that would answer to his description.

### *The Fur of the Marten*

It is related in legends that when an enemy was at sea, or out on the 825 ●
ice, hunting seals, a device to injure him was to assume the guise of 789
a marten or sable and to curse him while dancing a *tapkara* on the shore. Spells to create a storm to sink a boat, or to break ice, were to be uttered while wearing gloves and leggings of marten fur.

### *Tattooing*

Tattooing was a social custom rather than a religious or magical 304
rite. However, it is believed to protect women from the entry of evil 789
influences by way of the mouth and nose, and some account of it

789 are animal deities. As it was only possible for Munro to obtain
776 information from a few women who trusted him and his wife, the
[123] number of *kut* groups existing remains obscure. Nor is there any
information indicating whether one deity was associated with more
than one group.

Munro was told that Kamui Fuchi instructed A-e-oina Kamui, who in turn taught the Ainu, how to make the *upshoro-kut*, and that she also laid down all the regulations associated with them in the sacred traditions. In other accounts Kamui Fuchi is said to have given instructions to various female *kamui* who assumed animal form. It will be seen below (p. 147) that some of these regulations are not relevant to matrilineal exogamy, though Munro's informants insisted that they were taboos of the *kut*. Some women believed that their girdles were given directly by Kamui Fuchi, others maintained that they proved their descent from a particular animal deity. Two informants stated that no woman should approach the hearth unless she were wearing her
●[825] *kut*. No woman should go near the caged sacred bear cub without
[841] it; if she did, the bear would show his disapproval by his hostile
demeanour. The caged bear would also show his disapproval if a
[791] woman in a state of impurity—menstruation—were to come near
[688] him. In such cases a *tusu* would be consulted, and if the woman
were found guilty she would be punished.

126 With great precautions for secrecy, Munro persuaded his women
123 informants to make five different kinds of *kut* for him. These were
292 woven from bast, which somewhat mitigated the impropriety of
789 the task performed for a man and a foreigner. They were sent to
Seligman, and have been deposited in the British Museum
(Pl. XXVIII, figs. 1 and 2).

292 When Munro broached the subject with *ekashi*, with whom he
789 was intimate, he was told that although they knew of the existence
of the *kut* they had never seen one, and they affirmed the strictness
[582] of the rule of *kut* exogamy. Old women arrange marriages or in-
[887] vestigate the *kut* inheritance of a prospective couple in order that
the exogamy ruling should not be transgressed.

114 These facts led Munro to postulate totemism with matrilineal
614 clans. In numerous letters he treated the matter as an hypothesis
174 and related how he was searching for further evidence, both in
existing custom and in ancient tradition. However, in his typescript for this book, and in an article he published in *Man*, No.

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Reference must be made to the secret worship on the occasion 614
of the *pase ongami*. At Nibutani it was performed under the auspices 796
of Metot-ush Kamui, and Munro states that at least four other 776
*kamui* were worshipped on this occasion. One informant told him
that the *kamui* he worshipped had been revered in his patrilineage
for fourteen generations. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui nomi*
ritual differs according to the different *ekashi-ikir* taking part in it.
Mr Kubodera states that the *kamui* for whom *pase ongami* is performed
differ in every patrilineage, and that they are so sacred that
they are never mentioned outside the lineage. These observations
of Mr Kubodera give significance to Munro's statement (Chapter [422]
III, pp. 37–8) concerning the use of the *ekashi itokpa* in the [532]
Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. 'A male ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*)
is incised on the outspread shaven *inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui.
. . . Two more of the same kind are placed where the head of the
bear is displayed.' Thus, a link is suggested between the ancestry of
the bear cub killed and the patrilineage of the elder who has reared
the cub and carries out its ritual dismissal.

The importance of the bear deity cannot be over-emphasized; 825 ●
bear meat was the most esteemed food. The Bear Ceremony— 796
actually the ritual killing of a god—was a highly important rite
performed in every *kotan*. A cub was captured, and treated with 776
great respect until it had grown old enough for its ritual dismissal.
Munro witnessed this ceremony many times, and it is most unfortunate [114]
that his description of it should have been lost. The bear
cub has been treated with the respect due to a god since the time
of its capture; it is believed to appreciate its ceremonial death, and
so to be ready for its *ramat* to reincarnate in another bear who will
also be caught, worshipped and killed in the locality, thus providing
the same patrilineage with food. 776

*Kotan* has been translated 'village' when the local settlement
only is indicated, but it is clear that the word had a wider meaning 795
in former times, and, as will be seen, still has in some contexts at 769
the present day. According to Munro (Chapter II, p. 22) the cult 825
of the eagle owl, known as Kotan-koro Kamui (Village-Owning [621]
Kamui) is prevalent in all localities, with 'varying importance'. He
is sometimes referred to as Kotan-koro chikap ekashi Kamui (Village-Owning
Divine Ancestor). At Mokoto in the north he is given
special honour on festive occasions. At Nibutani, however, he
was given a small offering compared with that of other *kamui*

795 worshipped at the same time, but notwithstanding this apparent
769 neglect he was held in such awe that his skull was not used as a
825 protector (*shiratki*), other birds being treated with sacred shavings
776 and used in his place. In explanation, Munro suggested that the
eagle owl might be a 'deity particular to certain Ainu'. Apparently
he did not realize the importance of his own suggestion, founded
as it was on a chance observation. However, when considered in
conjunction with Mr Kubodera's observation that in the Saru dis-
[184] trict every family worshipped two 'weighty' *kamui*, one of which
was always Metot-ush Kamui, and that of Mr Watanabe in which
he noted that the *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the *ekashi-
ikir* of the worshipper, Munro's observation has considerable im-
portance and throws fresh light on the Ainu ancestral cult. Thus,
with his other somewhat cryptic remark: 'In certain villages they
[the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate
communal solidarity, if not common descent', he brings forward
[778] both positive and negative evidence that the bear and the eagle owl,
both important *kamui* for all Ainu, are worshipped in the ancestral
cult of specific localities, and also that the *itokpa* are symbols of the
[614] patrilineal cult.[1] Further, the territorial character of the patri-
[423] lineages in the north is established by the information given above
by Rennuikesh.

795 Batchelor states that Kando-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Sky)
769 was also addressed as Kotan-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Village)
776 as was seen in Chapter I, p. 12, but unfortunately, there is no in-
114 formation to indicate whether the use of this title was common to
all Ainu or limited to certain localities.[2] Although Batchelor was
mistaken in considering this *kamui* to be a supreme deity, it is
significant that the 'Possessor of the Kotan' epithet connects the
*kamui* of the sky with that of a local group, and thus with the ances-
tral patrilineal cult.

795 Another indication of the importance of the *kotan* to the patri-
769 lineal ancestral group is seen in No. 10 of a series of invocations to
614 various *kamui* for aid in difficult childbirth (see Appendix, p. 166).

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782 [1] It is unfortunate that the evidence we have does not indicate whether the
845 Bear Kamui was associated with the ancestral cult in the Saru district only, or
generally among the Ainu. Munro states that in the north Metot-ush Kamui
[184] was sometimes called Iworo Kamui; thus he is identifying the Bear with a terri-
torial patrilineal group.

[2] I would like to suggest that the use may have been limited to certain
territorial patrilineages.

158 continued to occur intermittently. There are certain advantages in being recognized as an *imu*; there is a camaraderie among *imu* women, and both adults and children are encouraged to laugh at them.

158 The transmutation of a neurosis to *tusu* is somewhat similar. The
791 evil spirit will be drawn out of her body by purification, and a good
spirit will remain her guardian and her spirit guide when she is called
[775] upon to act as medium. This is often Kinashut Kamui, or it may be a
[825] 'good fox' or a 'repulsive caterpillar', or a hornet, but it is never that of
a deceased person as is commonly the case in Europe.—B.Z.S.

755 Translation of *Innono-itak* (prayer) to Kamui Fuchi before invoking
158 Kinashut Kamui, to procure transmutation of an incapacitating or
782 distressing neurosis to *Imu*

539 Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, concerning the health of this Ainu
791 woman, she has been ardently desired by an inferior relative of Kinashut
Kamui who has enwrapped her body in the toils of his evil magic. If the *imu* talk can issue from her mouth and purification be done upon her, she shall be free to recover. Although she has severe sickness upon her and difficult trouble within, it can be disentangled and driven out from this Ainu woman, since Kinashut Kamui is exceedingly quick to hear an appeal. A messenger of Kamui Fuchi with *inau* can bear the message to Kinashut Kamui. Although there are very numerous relatives of Kinashut Kamui, he can discern the wrongdoer.

Doing *imu* talk through her mouth [as mouthpiece of Kinashut Kamui], being inspired to a flow of chatter by Kinashut Kamui, many children will be amused and will laugh aloud with great outbursts of laughter, Kinashut Kamui will probably be delighted [to hear the merriment].

This Ainu woman—her body fully cleared by sweeping away [the evil influence]—please give strength to her arms that she may work well in the fields. Make Kinashut Kamui to hear by messenger that a *kamui* —an inferior relative of Kinashut Kamui—making a great quarrel, with virulent power has tied up the Ainu person in the toils of evil magic. Doing purification from above, Kinashut Kamui by his *kamui takusa* may sweep away from the Ainu person [the evil magic]. Nusa-koro Kamui can use his *kamui takusa* through his dependent relatives [inferior relations]. Kinashut Tono [chief] by his own *takusa*, Nusa-koro Kamui through the *takusa* of his assistant deities, by their mutual magic force, by their united strength of arms this Ainu woman may have exorcising purification. That the Ainu person may recover through the united minds of the *kamui* and the brushing away [of evil magic] this is besought.

# APPENDIX II: The Bear Ceremony

I have taken the following account of the Bear Ceremony 127
from captions of the film made by Munro circa 1931.—B.Z.S. 796

AS among many other peoples of the Arctic and sub-Arctic, the 825 ●
Ainu show great reverence to all animal remains. Animals were
ceremonially butchered, prayers were made to their skulls and 782
gifts were offered to them so that their spirits might be pleased and
return in physical form to be hunted again. All animals were treated in
this respectful way, but greatest reverence was paid to the bear, which [231]
was captured as a cub and kept alive in a wooden cage for some years
before being ceremonially slain. Munro does not state how often this
sacrifice was made, but I think only one cub was reared in a village at
a time.[1] The ceremony was held at the best house in the village, and this [622]
would have been the house of the *kotan* chief. After the sacrifice, there
is little doubt that efforts would be made to capture another cub to rear
for the next ceremony, when the cub had grown to a suitable size. The
caged bear was treated with the respect due to a god (*kamui*).

Before the ritual begins, special food must be prepared. Millet is 252
pounded into flour from which the women make special dumplings— 796
large ones for the god and spirit relatives and smaller ones for Ainu
guests. They will perforate these in the centre and thread them on
sticks. They will also make small round cakes which will be thrown like
confetti.

The day before the main ceremony, friends gather at the house of the 796
festival host, usually bringing food for the occasion. First, Kamui Fuchi 782
is given offerings at the hearth, and the people ask for her approval and
protection. Then, other household deities are revered, and the gods outside the house are solicited in turn. Outside the sacred window, facing
east, stand fences supporting *inau*, which are special offerings to the gods
and also serve as a means of communication with them. In gala dress
and head-band of sacred curled shavings, the elder offers libations to
the gods. The house where the ceremony is held is a good typical Ainu [342]
dwelling.

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[1] This was the normal practice, but if several cubs had been captured, they might all be sacrificed at the same time, and the ceremony for them all would be held at the house of the *kotan* chief.

796

782 dwelling. The post to which the bear will be tied is firmly fixed in the
[824] ground and garlanded with evergreens, signifying immortal life. Offerings of curled shavings and *inau* are prepared to please the spirits. The elders set up the offerings and all benevolent gods are petitioned to come and bless the festival with their presence.

[177] Inside the house, vessels of Japanese lacquer with food and drink are
[415] set out. The walls are covered by mats of sacred design. On them hang ceremonial swords. Women prepare skewers on which the smaller millet
[778] cakes will be threaded. Children then carry them to the place of the
[353] Great Offering—the place where the head of the slain bear will be raised. (See Pl. XIII, Figs. 1, 2, 3.)

[411] When preparations for the feast are almost complete, soup is boiling, the millet beer brewed, the host begins to receive the first guests. Out-
796 side the hut, sightseers who have come from many miles away have
825 gathered to watch the ceremony. The bear, which will be killed ritually, is still in the cage which has housed it since it was caught as a cub. It
782 has been kindly treated with the reverence due to a god during its cap-
[574] tivity and is half tame. An elder offers prayer and drops of drink to the bear *kamui*. Now he must be brought out. Noosed from above and secured by strong but flexible cords, the bear is taken from the cage through a hole made in the floor. Roaring, but more astonished than
[824] ferocious, the bear is guided towards the scene of its death. The Ainu
[783] believe that the bear must now be made happy, and it is goaded to run about outside in the courtyard. Branches of fir tree brush away evil
[533] influence. Songs are sung and the traditional rhythms are strictly adhered to.

After the bear has been paraded for some time, some of the men shoot specially decorated arrows at it; these are without points and do it no harm. Then the bear is tied to the centre post. A bowman, selected last in the proceedings, lest evil overtake him, prays for the quick and early dispatch by the real arrow which he will fire. A shot or two by bamboo-pointed arrows are considered the proper way to free the spirit from the body. The sacred blood must not touch the soil, but pure snow does not contaminate it. An elder prays for the welfare of the departing spirit. The passing of the spirit is signalled by the flight of magic arrows over the place of the Great Offering, and are then eagerly raced for by boys. The bear, though dead, is now ceremonially strangled between two poles. This ritual imitation of strangling is performed in compliance with ancient custom, and here passes into burlesque or buffoonery, perhaps relieving the tension which has been built up during the preceding death of the bear and the release of its spirit.

On this occasion, the ceremony being performed for a she-bear, the body is decked with a necklace, the spirit is gratified by salutations, com-

-pliments, assurances and libations. Then skinning and dividing the body proceed according to strict rules of traditional ritual. The Ainu reverently drink the blood of the bear, calling it divine medicine. 796 825 782

Cushioned on the skin, with body removed, the head of the bear is believed still to attract the lingering spirit. Gestures of gratitude are made and praise and libations are offered, while the sacred fire burns at the place of the rendezvous to which it is hoped will come the World Spirit of the Ainu, the 'Holder of Space' and source of all life on earth. Here are placed the cups that had held the blood. During the feast etiquette forbids one who receives the cup just filled to drink it. He makes the gesture of reverence and passes it to the person opposite. An offering is also made to the ancestors. The women, too, make offerings to their matrilineal forebears (see Ch. VIII, Shinurapa). [576]

After this reverent ritual, the people enjoy themselves. Small millet balls are thrown and scrambled for because they bring luck through intimate association with the bear *kamui*. School children play at tug of war. The women dance at the place of the Great Offering. The spirits and gods are present as auspicious guests, and everything must be done to please and entertain them. Ceremonial swords are carried to guard against evil spirits. [777]

The final feast is held in the large house. Near the sacred East window lies the head of the bear with its lingering soul as chief guest of the feast. Food is set in front of it so that virtue may be acquired and passed on to those who eat it. 574 796 825

Then the 'sacred flesh' is distributed. The Wine-Controller, who sits beside the head of the god and opposite the large vessel of liquor, is a responsible official who gets a goodly portion. Ordinary guests receive small pieces of food, reverently taken in both hands. The feast includes millet beer and soon the Elders and guests begin to feel its effect. Then men dance, and after a while the women join in. [535]

/763 cont./

843 Even during pregnancy the woman enjoys a certain amount of
562 attention and care. I was able to observe that they showed in-
dulgence towards a pregnant woman, that they helped her at
work and quietly permitted her idleness and longer sleep.

843 Among the advice to pregnant women especially noteworthy
is the rule that recommends that they move around a lot. In
this way the fetus is supposed to remain small and the parturition
to proceed quickly and without special pains. The closer the
moment of delivery, the more exercise the woman is to take.
If she sits around much during her pregnancy the fetus becomes
too large and the mother suffers several days before the birth
is over.

732 A pregnant woman may not eat lobster since the child will
843 then have a hare-lip. She may not eat the flesh of birds either
827 because the child might then be born with squinting eyes which
[825] move like those of a bird. In this manner they explained to me
a case of hare-lip of a woman in the village Nayero and of
two crosseyed brothers in the village of Takoe.

843 Two months before birth a pregnant woman may neither
784 spin nor wind string (from nettle fibres) because the entrails
[283] of the child might then get entangled like string. The same
[286] can also happen if the woman should want to twist wool.

844 Birth—During the birth a woman does not leave the house
but remains in her usual place at the fire. All children, young
people, and sometimes also grown-up men, on the other hand,
are chased out of the yurt. For they hold the belief that a
great number of spectators increases the pains of the woman,
and they also consider quiet as very desirable. In order not
to dirty the floor they cover the spot where the sick woman is
to lie with twigs of fir and pine. They also give her a support
of old clothes and a mat woven out of grass. The woman lies
down on her right or left /764/ side with a belt clasped lightly
around her, which is made of some kind of material, but not
of nettle fibres since these are too hard. When the weather is
cold the woman keeps her boots on but in the contrary case
this is not necessary.

/764 cont./

844 As soon as the child comes out of the vagina the parturient woman spreads her legs. In case she is too weak to move herself a big ball of old clothes wrapped together is pushed between her knees.

An experienced woman always stands beside the woman in
labor whom she does not leave from the moment of the first
[593] birth pangs. Usually it is her own mother or aunt, but another
[604] loving relative may also take her place. Several times I saw
[602] that a relative came to the pregnant woman who was awaiting
her confinement in the house of her husband, even though there
was no lack of experienced women in that particular house.
The latter were probably considered more distant or less loving.

844 To speed up the birth and to lessen the pains, they massage
757 the woman. The midwife moistens a piece of a marine plant
[824] which is called sea herb (laminaria), she warms it so that slime
issues forth and with this slimy mass she rubs first the back
vigorously and then more gently the chest and abdomen. On
● [825] this occasion the following secret remedy is also often used: a
dried bat is wrapped up in wood shavings and rubbed over the
belly of the sick woman. If the parturition still proceeds with
[237] difficulty they pluck some hairs from the belly of a bitch,
[824] wrap them with willow chips and start massaging anew.

844 The woman who acts as the midwife prays to the spirits of
[782] the deceased ancestors, who are generally considered the sole
protectors of women, to help the sick woman. This prayer
[769] usually goes like this: "Wherever you may be, my little grand-
[539] mothers, please help today a suffering woman!"

Only a wise and courageous woman can be a midwife. She must be able to control her feelings and may not lose her head at the moaning and whimpering of the woman in childbirth, or tremble in sympathy for her. She must be able not only to alleviate the physical suffering of the sick woman, but also to pacify her mentally. If it is the woman's first childbirth, the midwife exhorts her to bear her pains patiently, just as other women have done who already have children who now help them with their work and who are therefore the object of envy to childless women.

/766 cont./

846 not to disturb the rest which the sick woman so badly requires.
852 They eat the prepared dishes and take part in the jubilation of
574 the household.
[758]

## The Woman after Parturition.

846 The sick woman is served food of the best and most digest-
262 ible sort possible. She is given rice and dried or fried fish with seal oil, but no juicy berries and no foods at all that are not readily digestible. Thus I once witnessed a woman in childbed refusing to eat rye-bread although she liked to eat it ordinarily. A woman in this stage is also not permitted to eat very cold foods, and everything is served to her at a tepid temperature.

846 For five days she is not allowed to sew, cook or do any other work. If she is weak her convalescence will last even longer. Under normal conditions a woman in childbed will get up on the sixth or seventh day and gradually go back to her usual tasks.

844 The Ainu pay special attention to the childbed. For instance,
757 massage is continued even after delivery. To alleviate the
pain it is supposed to be advisable to wrap into the chips with
● [825] which the rubbing is to be done a piece of the dried uterus of
[823] a bear or the tooth of an iron saw. They also massage repeatedly
with moistened sea herb. Ainu women generally suffer pains
after birth in the sacral region and to remove they they use
various remedies. Among others they prepare poultices for the
sick woman of sand heated at the fire and then put into a little
[824] bag. Also warmed chips of elder (Sambucus) are laid between
the woman's feet, or warm stones wrapped in chips are laid on
her abdomen. Instead of the chips they sometimes also use
grass.

[514] If the patient's excretions are too violent and painful an
[824] infusion of wild grass (arakoikina) is prepared and taken by the
woman. They also boil a certain grass, simosineka (Lamium)
and a certain tall plant called hopenukina, and with this warm
tea they wash the body of the woman in childbed. Sometimes
she will also drink an infusion of a certain plant called okina.
[823] A strongly recommended cure for the woman lying-in is that
she carry during the first four to five days heavy coral stones of

G /34 cont./
532 It is interesting to compare the shape of the bear vessels with
825 the ritual vessels, used by the Nivkhi for "feeding the sea." The latter type (which in our opinion, is more archaic) in the main also consists of vessels in the shape of a bird, sometimes complicated by symbolic decoration (vessels with two bird heads with long interwoven necks, etc.).

A
172 The expedition also gathered valuable, and by now
532 "archeologic" in their origin, collections of the items of the
• 825 Ainu art: The compulsory Japanization of the Ainu shows it-
[177] self strikingly in the loss by this people of their own national culture, so that we did not find anything characteristically Ainu in their homes, dresses, and household utensils. It was only in the neighborhood of the Ainu settlements, at the old worship places--inau-kah--that we found ancient Ainu utensils and objects used in religious ceremonies and that had been preserved in these places since the time when the Ainu celebrated the bear festival. Especially interesting findings were made by us near the settlements of Niita and Sirokhan. Of greatest interest among these findings are the sculptured representations of bears, bears' heads and especially snake-like representations with the head of the bear all dug out from under the roots of trees, together with hard-to-recognize, twisted and interwoven pieces of roots also ending in bears' heads. The figures found were apparently wrapped up in pieces of bear fur and tied up with strings of bast. /The remainder of this article is in the Ainu Files only/. This is evidenced by bits of hair adhering to representations and by soft lumps of the remnants of string, in which the dug out
A figures lay. Some of the samples have fully preserved their
[115] dress (drawing 3; a). Our informer Sirokava (a 65 year old
[224] Ainu from the Sirokam settlement) told us that similar representations were kept in every Ainu home, and that after a successful hunt a new string was tied up to the bear's figure.

A /35 contains photographs./ /36/

532 All the representations are made of the larch roots, and
825 the craftsmen seem to have intentionally used various twist and

/36 cont./

532 interweavings of roots for an unknown set purpose. Only in
825 relation to the representation of the head, the carvers exhibit a definite intention and great mastery in rendering the full likeness, and together with it a monumental generalization of the real appearance of a bear.

The collection of representations gathered by us (about 60 in number) can be divided into four groups:

1) Separate, realistically rendered bear heads (Drawing 3, b).

2) The most numerous representations, which render the general appearance of a bear (Drawing 3, v). The representations are all twisted in form: many of them either lack legs, or have the legs twisted in a grotesque way; others lack bodies so that the legs are connected directly with the head. In the same group may be included one paired representation of the bears sitting on their hind legs, with some incomprehensible additions made possibly for greater stability. (Drawing 3, g).

3) A Small group of sculptural combinations representing heads and legs. (Drawing 3, d)

4) A representation in the shape of a bear's head with several quaintly shaped representations made of interweaving roots. Among the latter is a piece of root with a tied up knot with separated edges carved up into heads. (Drawing 3, e, zh, z)

192 Sinokava gave all these representations the name of inoka.
532 L. Y. Shternberg translates this Ainu word as snake, inoka-
825 kamui meaning a divine snake. Inasmuch as among the inokas the representations of bears still prevail, one may suppose that the name "snake" was transferred by the Ainus to the wooden image of a bear. This hypothesis is in accord with the grotesque form of the "bears," which seem to have still preserved some
[171] of the appearance and attributes of the snakes. Evidently, in these inokas are combined the northern cult of the bear practices throughout Siberia with the cult of the snake brought by the
532 Ainu from the south. (5) As of greater practical significance
825
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[113]

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5. See L.Y. Shternberg. AĬnskaîa Problema (The Ainu

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825
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/37 cont./

problem). Sbornik,
Khavarovsk, 1933, p. 571

[113] under the conditions of life on Sakhalin island, the cult of the bear seems to prevail in these representations over the half-forgotten by the Ainu myth of the "divine snake."

Freed by the passage of time from the binding strings and the fur, the sculptural forms of the inoka are of exceptional interest, providing an opportunity of tracing the plastic metamorphosis of the mythical image of the snake into a realistic representation of the bear.

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Interesting samples for the comparison of the bear theme in the Nivkhi and Ainu carvings are provided by the ikunisi, the Ainu sticks--"usoderzhateli" (supporters). I shall first note an unusually great number of them, some 500 samples being known to us through the beautifully edited album and collections of the South-Sakhalin Museum. In the Ainu settlements we saw and in part acquired individual samples which have now become rarities. A distinguished craftsmanship in their execution, their richness of form, and a striking variety in their ornamentation made through the application of different methods of miniature-decorative carving, permit us to regard the ikunisi as real masterpieces of art.

Worthy of note is the symbolic-pictographic carving of the [171] ikunisi. The materials at our disposal show not only the themes resembling those known to us in the Nivkhi bear vessels, but also a variety of new compositions. /37/

It is typical that on the ikunisi with the bear theme, the prevailing representations are not those of the entire figures of bears, but only their heads (one or several) generally placed in the string and band nooses which are interwoven (Drawings 4 and 5). On some of the sticks the interweaving was made not by carving but with real bast strings; on others the heads are shown on the right-angled platforms, and cups are placed before the bears' heads. It seems to us that these compositions [171] with bears' heads present an early form of the bear cult (the

/37 cont./

532 worship of heads), practiced widely throughout Siberia, rather
825 than the locally limited and in its ideology more complex
171 "holiday of the bear" which is connected with the keeping of the bear in a wooden cage and with the ceremonial killing of the animal. If this hypothesis is correct, the bear themes on the Ainu sticks would seem to be more archaic in their content than the carving on the Nivkhi ladles.

532
825 The sculptured representation of a swallow (encountered also on wooden scabbards) bound by a uniquely carved fence or ring, is no less a widespread theme of the ikunisi than that of the bear. (Drawing 6, b). Still more frequent are the representations of the swallow placed in string nooses and in the interweaving of bands (Drawing 6, a). In the variant of the latter type a bear's head is frequently represented with that of a swallow. The stability of this composition, and the well developed type of the fence-ring, as well as numerous variations with the string-band interweavings allow the inference that the origin of the swallow theme is independent of the analogous bear compositions. If that is so, one can hardly connect the origin of the string-band ornament with the bear theme alone. I may add here, that not only the swallow, but also the presence of the beaver and the seal in the ornamental interweavings on the ikunisi bear witness to a broader base of origin of the string and band motives.

532 Let us first attempt to discover the significance of the ikunisi. It is hardly probable that the original function of these sticks with the pictographic /38/ carving and symbolic ornamentation was to support one's moustache while drinking wine. Montandon (6) considers that the term "supporters" (usoderzhateli)

[113]

6. G. Montandon, La civilisation Ainou. Paris, 1937.

used by the ethnographers describes the Ainu sticks only as objects of "contemporary toilet" of a person and does not

532 [113] /38 cont./

the snakes has been discovered and traced by L. Y. Shternberg, in Aĭnskai͡a problema (The Ainu Problem), Sbornik Muzei͡a Antropologii i Etnografii, Akademiia Nauk SSR, Vol. VIII, 1929.

these bases are so similar in their plastic qualities that one involuntarily wishes to recognize only one of the above mentioned bases as the original one and the motive connected with it as primary, and to call the other base a derivative from the first. However, a very essential difference in the bases themselves • [829] gives us no right to make such a generalization. The basis for the motive of the twisting and interweaving snakes is the religious concept of the divine essence of snakes, which is the imagination transformed reflection of the real struggle waged by men against snakes in southern latitudes. The string ornamentation develcped on the basis of practical activities of tying and untying. In the decorative compositions the two motives interpenetrate and, at times, are completely indistinguishable.

Varieties of interweaving, nooses, and skillfully tied knots of strings and bands (snakes) form the most widespread forms of the Ainu ornamentation. (Drawing 6, v, g, d). The string and band ornament is connected with the representations of animals, binding them with the surface of the decorated object. Breaking apart the ornament may get separated into a series of geometric figures or into a variety of curves.

532 171 /39/ The Ainu undoubtedly hold the first place among the peoples of Siberia in the artistic quality of their miniature decorative carving. The masterly artistic execution of small surfaces of firm wood (far less frequently of bone and horn surfaces) is brought by the Ainu carvers to a point of virtuosity. The best illustration of this are the decorations on the ikunisi. The compositional variety of ornamental motives and of

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171 /39 cont./

representative themes on these sticks, embodying not only some decorative elements prevailing on the Sakhalin and the Amur, but also those typical of the art of the hunters of the Arctic, makes it reasonable to suppose that the Ainu artistic culture, serving as a focal point for the convergence of the ancient ornamental traditions of many peoples, is the oldest centre of ornamental art in the north-east of Asia. There is no doubt that this centre exerted an influence on the neighboring peoples, and through them on the more distant cultures.

000 [Because of technical problems, HRAF was unable to reproduce the illustrations in this source for the English translation. Therefore, the researcher will have to refer to the foreign text for the illustrations themselves. For the convenience of the researcher the captions of the illustrations have been translated and are given below. The figure numbers and page numbers refer to the foreign text in Category 116.]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| G<br>171<br>532<br>825 | Figure 1, page 33. | "Bear ladle" from the village My (collected by the expedition). Nivkhi, Amur estuary. |
| | Figure 2, page 34. | Fragment of a "bear ladle" representing the hide and head of a bear. From the village of My. Nivkhi, Amur estuary. |
| A<br>172<br>532<br>• 825 | Figure 3, page 35. | Sculpture representations gathered at ancient places of worship. From the Ainu villages Niita and Sirokham. |
| A<br>532<br>825 | Figure 4, page 37. | Fragment of an Ainu stick ikunisi representing a bear head. |
| | Figure 5, page 37. | Ainu stick ikunisi with carved bear |

/39 cont./

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heads, wound by cords made of bark.

| | |
|---|---|
| Figure 6, page 39. | Ainu sticks ikunisi: a) high relief carving (swallow and bear head); b) high relief carving (swallow chasing a whale, and swallow in enclosure); v) stick wound with cords made of bark; g) and d) carving imitating intertwining of cord. Reproductions from various sources. |

224 over hills and plains. The Ainu might have caught them, if they so wished,
221 in any season. But summer was the time devoted to fishing and collecting;
[825] besides, summer meat and skins were not much valued because they believed
that summer meat was not greasy enough, summer furs did not keep warmth
well and both were more easily infested by vermins (cf. INUKAI, 1943, pp.
[262] 16-7); usually neither deer nor bear was chased in summer. As an item of
[231] food, venison was of greater importance than bear flesh. Deer skins were
[439] partly used for their own clothing and partly as articles of barter with Japanese traders; but at least in Otopuke and upper Takapchi the stock left was dumped every summer, before or after being spoiled by vermins, with a simple ritual procedure by each household (Fig. 1). There were no ritual activities worth mentioning here in relation to deer hunting.

Autumn hunting.—Autumn hunting, *chuk iramande*, extending in reality to winter, was divided into two successive phases, the first characterized by field hunting and the second by hill hunting.

Field hunting.—This phase started in *Urepok chup* or around October, when the fur of the animal began to change for the winter31) and the meat to get greasy (p. 54). The Ainu set spring bows and poisoned arrows to the deer fence on the fields at the foot of a hill or on the gentle slope of a lower hill and frequented the fence usually from their homes in the *kotan* while being engaged in salmon fishing in the river (Map 2; Fig. 8). On the way to and from the fence they also hunted deer with hand bows and arrows. Hunting with hand bows came into full swing with the arrival of the mating time (Note 31). Mating of deer took place most frequently on and around marshy tracts, where, usually not far from the Ainu settlements, the animal was decoyed by the deer whistle, *rektep*, to be shot with hand bows and poisoned arrows. Field hunting continued until the base snow came to cover the food plants for the deer, which then retreated from the fields to their winter quarter32). Of the two autumn phases, the first one of field hunting was the more important, for in this period more or less sufficient quantity of venison could be secured to last the winter.

Hill hunting.—When the base snow came and all the deer tracks had disappeared from the field, the animals all gathered at their winter quarters, where they stayed till the spring (p. 53). Deer in Hokkaido pass the winter in sunny areas with less snow and with sufficient food plants such as bamboo-
[133] grass (Note 32). So far as the areas surveyed by the present writer are con-
[361] cerned, the winter quarters lay as a rule on hills which bordered the valley
of the river along which Ainu settlements were distributed, that is, on slopes stretching under mountain ridges and wooded with evergreens, chiefly firs; of these the distinctive ones, which were named so-and-so *rikoruya* or *yuk rya ushi* by the Ainu, were found on hills well wooded usually with firs, chiefly hup, Abies sachalinensij.33)

[224] bear[15]. It grows to a large size and is of ferocious nature. The Ainu hunted [136] for it and killed it in a positive way with spring bows and arrows tipped [278] with poison prepared from the wolf's bane, Aconitum, and even with hand bows. The Ainu were most probably the only known people to use bows and arrows as chief implements for hunting the brown bear (WATANABE, 1953). Moreover, it seems that no people in the neighbouring areas ever hunted the [231] bear with such degree of active, organized effort as the Ainu. The Ainu habits of capturing and rearing young cubs and of their ritual killing were quite remarkable (p. 75), as was their well developed method of bear hunting. [237] Furs of the animal were the most important item of barter with the Japanese. [439] Seen from the food economy of the Ainu the bear was not so important [433] as deer or salmon. Throughout the areas investigated by the present writer, rather few Ainu hunters could bring down or capture as many as eight bears, including cubs, in a year.

The bear has a hibernating habit. In early spring in Hokkaido the bear gradually came out of its den and, tracing chiefly the ridge where the snow melts earlier, came down to the lower hills and the level plain where food [137] could be found early. In autumn the bear went about in search of nuts and berries growing in plenty by the mountain streams. It grows very fat during the autumn. When snow came, the animal began to retreat upstream to the depth of the mountains, where it went again into hibernation in its den. Zoological data on those habits of the brown bear in Hokkaido have been given by HATTA (1911) and INUKAI (1933)[16].

In Hokkaido, hibernation dens of bears were found in comparative abundance in those rugged mountain districts where rivers have their sources[17]. The hibernation centres as known to the Ainu were distinct from the winter quarters of the deer even in the same river valley. These latter developed on the strip of lower hills mostly wooded with firs and lying on each side of a river valley (Notes 3, 4 and 33). The tracks for the seasonal and local migration of the animal, known by the Ainu as *noru* or *chikushiru*, were more concentrated, mingled and permanent on the ridges and in the small glens nearer to the hibernation centres. Farther away or downstream, they were more scattered and less stable. Moreover, the bear is non-gregarious; its tracks were narrower and less distinct than those of the deer which is gregarious.

● [825] With full knowledge of their game, the Ainu selected bear hunting grounds [342] in those source areas of rivers where there were hibernation centres (Note 36, f) and in each ground a hut was built for hunters to pass each season. These hunting grounds lay farther from the settlements and more interior than the deer hunting grounds (Fig. 8 and Map 2). Though much fewer, bears could be found without the source areas, if found, they might be caught

## VI

## SYSTEM OF SOCIAL SOLIDARITY BETWEEN MAN AND NATURE

121 Radcliffe-Brown, in his theory of totemism, worked out an important basic concept of the subject of relation in myth and ritual of man and nature, that is, the concept of the universe as a moral order (RADCLIFFE-BROWN, 1952, pp. 130-1). The recogniton of the concept leads to that of various processes by which the natural order is brought within the social order. The subject to be discussed here is the degree and kind of interest taken by a people in spatial orientation of natural phenomena around them, and its role in the process of bringing the natural order within the social order.

No attempts have been made to analyze the beliefs and rituals of the Ainu as integral part of the system of relationships between their group life and their habitat or, in other words, as the system of social solidarity between the people and the natural world which works as counterpart to the ecological system. Yet such analyses are thought to be essential to the understanding of the Ainu territoriality and, concurrently, of the distribution and workings of Ainu groups.

Every natural phenomenon occupies a precise place in space. Natural species, whether human or non-human, live and grow in a certain amount of space on the earth. To what extent and in what way this space factor is relevant to a people's system of social solidarity between man and nature, seems to be a problem worthy of exploration.

823 The Ainu personified all organisms and classified them according to re-
824 ligious categories[52]. But they were not content with mere personification of
• 825 natural species and a mere taxonomic approach to ordering them. They
776 brought geographical factors into their system of ordering the natural world.
Every natural phenomenon has its activity and these activities are interconnected with each other in relation to time and space. Thus the earth's surface, which is seen to our eyes as the carpet of fauna and flora, was seen by the Ainu as the carpet of *kamui*[1] groups in their temporary guises. Every topographical feature such as hill, river and sea, was seen as the field of activity of these *kamui* groups. According to the Ainu view, the whole Ainu land was divided into a number of *iworu*, fields of activities of *kamui*. Some data suggest that the sea also was spatially divided into sections or areas each associated with a particular *kamui* and closely related to the fishing ecology of the coastal Ainu[53].

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1,[i.e., nature-spirit--Analyst]

823 river as explained below. Each river has its own head which was thought
776 to be especially important to the river group evolved around it and which was called by a special name. Most important of these names is the affix '*shi*' meaning true, grand and parental, which is attached to the name of the river[56]. For example, one of the head streams of Otopuke is known as *Shi*-Otopuke. What the Ainu call *Shi*-Otopuke, is what they believe to be the source. The river head area was known as *kimun iworu, iworu* deep in mountains. Its boundary usually corresponds to the limit of dog salmon run; however, the present writer could not verify what the fact means. The top of a particular mountain at the source of *Shi*-stream, i. e. the source stream as recognized by the Ainu, of the river, was called *iworu tapka*, the top of *iworu*, where it was believed the chief bear-spirit lived. There also are some evidences that the chiefs of some other categories of nature spirits were believed to reside there[57]. *Kimun iworu* was the area which was actually visited only by Ainu bear hunters and bark collecters. The *iworu tapka* was believed by the Ainu to be the place never accessible to them. Ainu settlements were along the river below *kimun iworu*.

The tributary streams giving into each river were called children, *poho*, or branched people, *tekehe utari*, of the river and had their own names. Each of these streams or glens named by the Ainu, was inhabited and owned by a water-spirit, *nai koru kamui*, the glen-owning *kamui* who was subordinate to
[361] the river-owning *kamui*[58]. Ainu settlements were usually situated near the junction of those streams and the river distinguished by the Ainu as a unit, for instance, as Otopuke.

361 Ainu settlements were thus associated with the terrestrial homes of nature
776 spirits, *kamui*. The houses of all Ainu settlements had a special type of win-
342 dow which was oriented towards the river-head[59]. The sacred window had a function specialized for communication between the fire spirit in the house and other *kamui* outside[60]. This had influenced the spatial arrangement of the habitation of the Ainu family and the pattern of the Ainu settlements (Figs. 1 and 6)[61]. In the past, settlements usually consisted of a single row of houses, which seldom lined up face to face on both sides of a road. Now
[178] that the cosmological ideas of most Ainus have changed, the traditional pattern has also altered in most settlements, which are usually seen today with a plurality of house rows.

### 825 Dog Salmon as Viewed by the Ainu

776 The Ainu view of the nature of the dog salmon, especially of its seasonal run to specific rivers and its habit of spawning in specific grounds, may be summarized as follows.

a) The salmon takes the form of a fish but it is not a fish of common

nature; it is the food forwarded to the Ainu by the *kamui* who lives in the sea 825
and sends it to the Ainu. The *kamui* is referred to by different informants as 776
either of *chepatte kamui* and *atui koru kamui* (Note 53), of which the former seems to be correct. The Ainu called dog salmon *kamui chep*, divine fish, or *shiipe kamui chep*, grand food divine fish.

b) The salmon is the subordinate of the *kamui* who lives in a house similar to that of the Ainu somewhere in the sea, and has a human form like the Ainu.

c) There are a number of leaders, *utaru pake kuru* (headman), among salmon spirits who run up different rivers to visit the Ainu, leading their own group of salmon spirits, *ichan kara kamui* (spawning-bed making *kamui*), under the direction of the *chepatte kamui* (or *atui koru kamui*).

d) When visiting the Ainu, they bring with them meals of salmon meat for the Ainu.

e) After giving this meat to the Ainu and being entertained by them, each spirit of the salmon assumes a human form and goes back by boat to its home in the sea. On the way back, they take with them such souvenirs given by the Ainu as *inau*-sticks.

f) Which river they run up depends upon the direction of the *kamui* in the sea. He will forward plenty of salmon to the river along which live the Ainu who respect and welcome them in proper way.

g) The fire-spirit, *apehuchi kamui*, tells the river-owning spirit, *petorun kamui*, how the salmon caught were treated by their capturers, the Ainu. The river-owning spirit communicates this to the *kamui* in the sea.

h) Salmon when caught should be treated in certain prescribed ways; otherwise, they will never come back again.

Group Activities as Their Ritual Reaction to Dog Salmon[62].

Towards the termination of cherry salmon runs, dog salmon started run- 226
ning. Before the arrival of salmon, each local group observed a pre-fishing 176
ritual, *petorun kamuinomi*, to ensure their coming up. The male household 782
heads of the local group participated in the ritual organized and directed by the headman. Prayers and offering-sticks, *inau*, were given to the fire-spirit and the river-owning spirit. The *inau* bore the ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, of the headman, that is, of the patrilineal male-kin group which constituted the core of the local group. After the collective ritual at the headman's house, each household head made *inau*-offerings, *pet oren asange inau*, and went to set them up at the prescribed spot, *inau aroshiki ushi*, near the spawning ground habitually exploited by his own settlement group and controlled by his own local group as a whole.

As previously mentioned in connection with dog-salmon fishing, shoals 825

825 running earliest in season have to ascend farthest upstream before they can
spawn. The earliest group which run up the main stream of the river around
which each river group evolved, were regarded as *kamui oren oman chep*,
fish which run up to *kamui*, though the *kamui* could not be named definitely.
The terminus recognized by the Ainu of dog salmon run in the main stream
of each river, either the Tokapchi, the Otopuke or the Azuma, corresponds
226 with the lowermost limit of the deep mountain *iworu*, *kimun iworu*.

782 The member of each settlement who caught the first salmon, *ashiri chep*,
796 *hoshino shirepa chep* or *ashino tanepo chep*, sent it to his headman. Every
[431] food gift among the Ainu, whether to the headman or to anyone else, was
regarded as an offering, *akopuni*, to the fire-spirit. Besides this gift the first
[574] fisher of each settlement invited the people to eat together from his first
catch, which was cooked in his house for the first time in the season. The first dog salmon to be eaten for the first time in each house, either in the first fisher's house or in any other's, must be offered to the fire-spirit of each household and the ritual cutting must be performed by a male with his man's knife, *inauke makiri*, the *inau*-scraping knife. The mandible *paetu*, of the salmon, eaten for the first time in each household was reserved for tying to a new *inau*-stick which was to be thrown into the river at the end of the season.

When the spawning of salmon ended at the spawning grounds of each local group, each headman called together all the male household heads to his house and observed a post-run or post-fishing ritual, *petorun kamui nomi*, ritual for the river spirit, 'to see off salmon-spirits' and to pray for a plentiful next run. The ritual procedure seems to have been much the same as that for the pre-run ritual, except that on return from the headman's house, each household head threw special *inau*-sticks, *chip inau*, or dug-out *inau*, attached with all the mandibles of the dog salmon eaten in his house during the year, into the river at a prescribed spot near the spawning ground most frequented by the people of his settlement.

226 Taboos concerning dog salmon fishing were much more severe with female
784 than with male members and much more stringent for spawning grounds
562 than for other sites.

825 Brown Bear as Viewed by the Ainu.

776 a) Like all plants and animals, the bear when in its own land is in human form and lives in a house similar to that of an Ainu. The house, *kamui chise*, appears to the eyes of the Ainu as a den.

b) The bear-spirit, *kimun kamui*, *kamui* residing deep in the mountains, has its kinsmen, *utari*, and its headman, *utari shikamakkuru*, the man to look after his kinsmen43). The chief of the bears, *metotush kamui*, *kamui* in the heart of the mountains, or *nupuri noshiki koru kamui*, *kamui* who owns the 825 centre of the mountains, is believed to be the big bear that lives in a large 776 house on the lofty mountain top at the riverhead[64]. In Tokapchi, the abode was believed to be on the summit of *Optateshke nupri*, Optateshke mountain, in Otopuke on the top of *Otopuke nupuri*, and in Azuma on that of Mt. Yubari.

c The headman is never known to move outside of its abode to be seen by the Ainu; but in spring, on its orders, its people put on the bear's form ready for their visits to the Ainu.

d When they go, they take with them bear meat to give to the Ainu for meals. When they set out of their land, the headman gives notice to the fire-spirit, *apehuchi kamui*, who resides in each Ainu house.

e The messenger of the fire-spirit is the bear hound, *riep kamui*, creeping *kamui*, or *iso itak kamui*, *kamui* who calls the bear-spirit, who conducts the Ainu to meet the visitor. The bear, then, is not hunted by the Ainu; it comes to visit them.

f When the ursine visitor arrives, it enters the hunter's house by the sacred window, *rorun puyaru*, presenting its host with the bearskin and the bear meat it brings. In return it receives all the due hospitality for an honoured guest. After accepting the treasured *inau*, shaved wooden stick, [778] the visitor, again in human form, goes back to the riverhead to his headman[65].

g On its return home the spirit of the bear is received by the headman and its fellow people, who all share with it the gift brought back from the Ainu.

h If the bear has been treated with due attention, the headman will be pleased to send more of its people to visit the same host again next year.

Group Activities as Their Ritual Reaction to the Brown Bear.

Mention has already been made in Chapters III and IV that in Hokkaido the hibernation centres of bears as recognized by the Ainu lay chiefly 224 distributed in the mountains at the source areas of the rivers and that local groups more upstream and nearer to the hibernation centres showed greater enthusiasm in organized bear hunting than those farther away (pp. 37 and 47). It follows that more cubs were captured annually by those living more [231] upstream and maintaining more bear hunters, while some of those groups more downstream and with less bear hunters seem to have found themselves occasionally short of cubs to bring up for ritual killing.

When cubs taken were brought in by each hunting party, they were 231 either allotted for rearing among the member families, as in the case of Tokapchi, Kushiro, Saru and Azuma areas, or taken on in one lot by the leader's family, all the others contributing necessary feed, as was the case in

226 (**29**) The fishing season among the Ainu of dog salmon, in either of the
221 Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma, covered the following three months; *urepok chup, shune an chup* and *kuekai chup* (p. 70). That these months correspond approximately to October, November and December has been explained in Note 25.

The fishing season in the Tokapchi is from early September till late December (MIHARA et al., 1951, pp. 34-5), and at the governmental fishing installation at Chiyota, located 40 kms. up from the river-mouth, several fishes per day begin to be caught in early September and the landing falls off in late December (Tokapchi Shijyō, official catch register for 1933-1955; oral information from the Branch in 1959). The run into the Tokapchi is so checked by a dam at Chiyota and the fishing installation lying lower that the number of fish running farther upstream is estimated to have decreased by 70 to 80 per cent (SANO and NAGASAWA, 1958, pp. 2 and 6). Apart from the situation, it is reported that in the Mem, a minor tributary on the middle course, the run occurs in late September and ends in early November; however, rumours point to fairly large runs seen formerly in December and even
[136] in January (ibid., p. 6). It is recorded in the diaries of first group settlers "Banseisha", immigrated to Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi in 1882-3 that in 1882, 1883 and 1885 dog salmon appeared in the area in October and ascended in increasing numbers in December, while in 1884 they appeared in small quantity in September, with runs still small even in October and falling off in December; that the runs ceased at last in January in either of the years mentioned and the fish seen in that month were old ones such as were caught by few people (HAGIHARA, ed., 1937, pp. 106, 136-7, 167, 170-1, 188 and 191).

(**30**) *Meorun chep* regarded as the silvery salmon.—Night-fishing with torchlights was a practice among the Ainu of the anterior generation on every river course during the latter part of the dog salmon season. On any river course of the upper Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma as well as other rivers investigated by the present writer, the torchlight-fishing began in *shunean chup*, the month to start fishing with *shune*, the torch. The month
136 approximately corresponds to November (Note 25). The beginning of the fishing season was marked in every river course by the arrival of a specific variety of dog salmon. This variety was what the Ainu called *meorun chep*
● [825] in the main Tokapchi and the Otopuke areas, or *mata chep* in the Azuma, Mukawa and Shikot areas, meaning by *me* 'cold', by *mata* 'cold season' and by *chep* 'fish'; although these later runs were of special significance to the natives, no reference seems to have been made except by BATCHELOR. The *meuren chep* and *mat chep* referred to by him shows every indication of

**Only a few families of the** *pishun utaru* followed stretch-rope fishing: shortly after the land allotments, 226 2 families out of 10 and odd at Chin on the Mukawa and or 3 out of 14 or [184] 15 at Nina on the Saru.

Each spring and again each autumn, for about a month while favourable [221] weather prevailed for drying and storing away their catches, the males of [251] these families went to stay at seaside fishing lodges, *haina koru kucha* or *pishun kucha*, and devoted themselves to fishing with the stretch-rope, '*haina*', while their families remained at home. Information has it that about the [361] same time there were 5 or 6 lodges belonging to the Saru group standing in cluster on their side of Huihap Cape.

*Yanke sotki and repun sotki.—Yanke sotki* was the area lying next to 823 *repun tomari* and extending to where the hinder mountain tops were seen to 776 disappear beneath the horizon. *Repun sotki* was the open sea lying beyond. The former was associated with *yanke sotki kor kamui* and the latter with *repun sotki kor kamui*. It is said that *yanke soti kor kamui* was the spirit of the younger killer whale and *repun sotki kor kamui* that of the elder killer whale. Little can be known about the probable connection between them and *repun kamui*, king killer whale or chief killer whale, referred to by all informants from interior settlements as a special *kamui* worshipped by *pishun utar*, coastal people. It is also said that *repun kamui* was a brother to *metot ushi kamui*, chief of bears.

The above-mentioned two *sotki* provided the Ainu with fishing grounds 226 for swordfish, *shirikap*. The subdivision of the area seems related with the [136] habit of swordfish and its effect on the method of their fishing. The Ainu fished for them during summer when the fish swam round in groups of several near the sea surface. The fishermen chased them, in *itaoma chip*, [501] dugouts with broadened sides, and pierced them with harpoons, *kite*. Harpooning from small-sized dugouts on the open sea of this large fish held as ferocious as the spearfish, was regarded by the Ainu as an operation of as much special ability, both technical and ritual, as brown bear hunting. At the Mukawa shortly after the land allotments only 3 families from the Chin local group core followed swordfish harpooning. It was known that in some 226 years the fish came nearer shore and in others they kept farther off shore. 825 The boundary of *yanke sotki* represented the nearest approach line of the fish known by experience, and the off-shore boundary their farthest line of departure from shore. When the harpooning season came on, the *shirikap* fishermen could foretell the probable course of the fish, whether they would come the way of *yanke sotki* or that of *repun sotki*, by such signs as the high or low flights of fireflies. The coming of swordfish to *repun sotki* meant [782] for the Ainu going out into the markless open sea; it was then that the Ainu became most particular on the observation of their ritual for *sotki kor kamui*.

342 seat and one on the other side as a lower one; the house is so oriented in
361 the belief that at the top of the head mountain in the direction of the upper
776 side of the house there dwells the guardian *kamui* of the land" (Yoshida, 1958, p. 39).

Mituoka cites similar information on the Shiraoi Ainu in the Southwestern part of Hokkaido: "The first thing that strikes one from the mainland of Japan as strange is the regular orientation of all the houses in a (Ainu) settlement. Needless to say, ancient tradition rules out all free planning by individuals. Opening a door or window facing upstream is to be avoided in reverence to the many *kamui* or deities, such as *wakka ushi kamui*, that reside on the upper reaches of the river. Houses must face downstream, for
[783] human habitation is subject to privacy and uncleanliness which it is too awful to expose to the sight of the *kamui*" (Mituoka, 1941, p. 29).

Habara quotes an Ainu writer, T. Takesumi, as describing, "The door of a house always faces downstream....; the window opening on the side of the upper stream...." (Habara, 1939, p. 73).

Habara, examining published materials, concludes: "Their (the Ainus') settlements are built in a uniform direction on the bank of a river or lake in order to meet the necessity of their economic life and the requirements of their religion born of such life" (ibid, p. 69).

Referring to a similar habit among the Orok of Sakhalin, Nagane reports: "The settlement, of a scattered pattern similar to that described for the Ainus, contained five small huts. All faced in one direction and had two doors each, one for the mountain and the other for the sea. The door for the mountain seemed in everyday use. They were coastal houses, apparently after the style of winter houses" (Nagane, 1935, p. 176).

778 (60) The use and significance of the sacred window.—On the basis of the
776 data given by Grey and Batchelor, Hallowell pointed out the Ainu custom
342 of taking any part of the bear, and on certain occasions other game or fish, into the dwelling through a special window (Hallowell, 1926, p. 143).

For the use and significance of the window an account is given by Batchelor (1901, p. 124). Kintaichi states, "implements of hunting and fishing are taken out of the house by this window, *kamui kush puyaru*, window for *kamui*, and never by the ordinary doorway. Game brought home also enter by this and no other way. Right below it you see a space, called *moshkaru*,
[825] set apart for depositing the game. In Ainu conception game of all kinds are *kamui*; an animal or fish taken by a household master is a guest coming on a visit to the fire-spirit of the house. The belief is that when the game arrives, the fire-*kamui*, invisible to human eyes, is at the window to greet and show in the *kamui* of the game. Hence the great sanctity in which the

that when the time came he went down to a certain place on a certain tributary, where he made *inau*-offerings in a ritual for the fish and then watched for their arrival. When they came, he had a number of his local group men visit the site daily to haul them by spearing. In either of the Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys, the rituals for the *chirai*, like those for the dog salmon, differed from the cherry salmon rites to be described below in that they involved a post-run or post-fishing ritual including the throwing of the mandible of the first-caught fish and the *inau* offerings into the stream. 226 796 [821]

The ritual for the cherry salmon, *ichaniu* or *ichanui* or *ichaniu kamuichep*, took place at the approach or[1] the runs and was an observance on the level of the cooperative group as a unit. On the upper Tokapchi, on the bank of the main stream, close by the weir site, *tesh karu ushi*, shaved wooden sticks, *inau*, were set up by male members of the weir fishing group. The ritual over, the group immediately set to work together building the weir. In Otopuke where each local group was splitted into several minor *kotan* groups (p. 9), and each *kotan* group constitued[2] a weir fishing group (p. 44), the eldest member of each *kotan* seems to have been in charge of the pre-fishing ritual. The practice of offering the first cherry salmon to the fire spirit is known from Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet at least. No post-fishing ritual was observed for the fish in either of the areas.

In Otopuke at least, *spun*, a kind of Tribolodon, was also called *kamuichep* and the first-caught fish of each family was offered to the fire spirit of their house. The fish was treated with neither a pre-fishing nor post-fishing ritual. The cults for those kinds of fishes remain to be explored in further details.

(63) Chief of the bears and its subordinates.—The chief of the bears is represented by different names in different parts of Hokkaido. A few examples from a list of different *kamui* names relating to the bear ceremony (NATORI, 1941) are: *ponporokatok etok un kamui* (i.e. *kamui* in the depth of Ponporokatok—Sorapchi area), *nupuri koru kamui* (i.e. mountain-owning *kamui*.—Mashike area), *nupuri-noshiki un kamui* (i.e. *kamui* in the middle of the mountains.—also Mashike area), *kamui ekashi* (i.e. *kamui* old man—Yoichi area), *kimun kamui* (*kamui* deep in the mountains—Shiraoi area), *medotushi kamui* (i.e. *kamui* deep in the mountains—Saru area). Still another name collected in Azuma by the present writer is *kimerok kamui*, *kamui* sitting in the heart of the mountain. 825 ● 776

As is well known, the Ainu view is that the world of bears has its chiefs and their family or subordinates and that the subordinates come as guests to the Ainu, who in due time send them back again to their chief. The view is clearly indicated, for instance, in the information collected by NATORI 825

1,2,[Errata: these should read "of" and "constituted" respectively. Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

825 NATORI, 1941, p. 43) and the mythological stories collected by KINTAICHI (KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 153-154; 176-177). Nevertheless, the Ainu view according to which they established a territorial ordering or grouping of bears is indicated only in the writings of INUKAI as follows: "the Ainu in this district (i.e. Otopuke) believe that just as they themselves have from generation to generation lived in such a way as not to disgrace their *kotan* and family names, so the bears of the mountains with their definite ancestry—e.g. the Bears of the Mountains of Akan (at the head of the river Akan in Kushiro) or the Bears of Mt. Optateshke (at the head of the river Tokapchi) coming down from respective forefathers—behave themselves alike not to disgrace their ancestors" (INUKAI, 1942, p. 143).

773 823 64 The river along which the Ainu settled, its source and the high mountain that harbours the source also played important parts in providing backgrounds for their mythology, as may be seen in KINTAICHI's material of myths collected in Saru (KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 15, 66, 71, 88,89, 153-154, 172, 176-177). The material contains some myths which clearly indicate the relation existing between the mountain of *kamui*, the large house standing on its top and the chief of the bears who lives there (ibid., pp. 153-4; 176-7).

CHIRI remarks that the *kamui nupuri* or *kamui*-mountains rise as watersheds for most of the rivers and that they are associated with many legends of gardens for the *kamui* and mysterious lakes called *kamui to* on their summits (CHIRI, 1951, p. 11).

825 776 772 65 Return of the bear-spirit to the river source area.—In most of the writings hitherto published it is simply mentioned that the spirit of the ritually-killed bear goes back to the 'land of *kamui*' or 'divine land' where its parent or chief lives, no reference being made to the spatial orientation of nature spirits which is so charateristic of Ainu cosmology. A survey guided in the light of the Ainu view of habitat unmistakably reveals the fact that the land so designated is not a mere divine land of imagination but an actual, spatially-oriented land of the chief of the bears. The fact is also borne out by scattered information hitherto published, such as that of a Saghalien Ainu headman who informs that "the bear ceremony is performed to send off the bear-spirit back to the mountain simply because that is where he came from and where the deity of the mountain lives" (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 254) or that from an Otopuke Ainu that "the *maratto* (the skull representing the spirit of the ritually-killed bear), guided by *niyash koru kamui* and *kotan koru kamui*, goes to the abode of *nupri koro kamui*" (i.e. mountain-owning *kamui*, chief of the bears) (NATORI, 1941, p. 63). Information similar to the last was collected by the present writer from Ushino, an informant from

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Tokapchi. The Ainu belief that the spirit of the sent-off animal returns to the specific mountain at the head of a river that is regarded as the abode of the chief of the bears, is distinctively and minutely represented in some of their mythological stories KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 153 154, pp. 176 177. 825 776 772

The only available information that suggests a territorial ordering of bears as laid down by the Ainu will be found in a quotation from INUKAI at the end of Note 63.

In spite of all such information, however, no attention has ever been paid [182] to the system of social solidarity, based on the territorial principle, which exists between the river group and the bears in the same river area.

**66** Season for the bear ceremony. -Different writers and informers give 796 different times for the bear ceremony: September or October HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 121 ; mostly between late November and January to February INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 256 ; in and about Kutcharo at least, between December and January to February SARASHINA, 1942, p. 126. The actual dates of the few festivals observed by Ainu hunters in recent times vary considerably as in the following cases: 25 November, 1939, for one performed by Oyamada at Rinkoushi in Shikot NATORI, 1941, p. 68 ; 16 17 December, 1939, for one observed by Ōno at Suwan in Kushiro INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, p. 98 ; 29 January, 1940, for another again by Oyamada at the same place NATORI, 1941, p. 68. It must be noticed, however, that in the days [461] when the natives still lived in their traditional ways a limited period in winter was the only time for a whole settlement group to engage in festive activities which lasted for days or for any great number of people to come together from different settlements, as may be observed in the chart on p. 73 showing the cycle of gathering activities. A diary left by one of the earliest Japanese settlers on the middle Tokapchi HAGIHARA, ed., 1937 records an invitation he received to a bear cermony at one of local Ainu households on 21 January, 1883 ibid., p. 111 and another to one at a local headman's on 11 January, 1884 ibid., p. 160. SARASHINA mentions that along the river Kutcharo or Kushiro bear ceremonies went round in succession from the upper to lower settlements SARASHINA, 1942, p. 126; for a case of the ceremonies in modern times in the same area, see Note 67. Though no detailed information is available, such a custom appears to have been related in some way with the system described in the text by which a series of bear ceremonies were performed in sequence by different member local groups or settlement groups of each *shine itokpa* group.

**67** Social aspect of bear ritual. The so-called bear ceremony of the Ainu 796 in its traditional form is now only barely preserved among the small remnant 178